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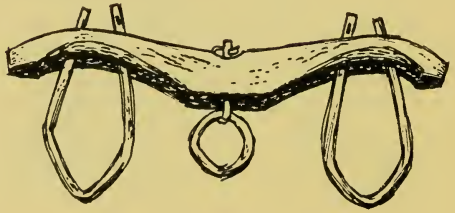
LINCOLN ROOM



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PART I

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS

(Before March 4, 1861)

LINCOLN READING THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION TO THE CABINET, SEPTEMBER 20, 1862

From the Painting by Frank B. Carpenter

THE WORKS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS
MESSAGES TO CONGRESS
MILITARY ORDERS
AUTOBIOGRAPHY
MEMORANDA, ETC.

Introductions and Special Articles by

THEODORE ROOSEVELT — WILLIAM H. TAFT
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And Others

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JOHN H. CLIFFORD
MARION M. MILLER

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PREFACE

THERE is a logical division of Lincoln's correspondence at the date when he became President. Before that his letters were largely personal, private, and professional, and when they dealt with politics, did so without the note of authority. After his inauguration as Chief Executive of the Republic, and Commander-in-chief of its armies and navies, the letters of Lincoln became official in character and content, though advisedly not always in tone. They dealt rarely with purely personal concerns, and generally treated of military and administrative matters. Largely, too, the personnel of Lincoln's correspondents changed.

Accordingly the editor of the present edition has divided the correspondence at March 4, 1861, repeating the entries of correspondents' names in the few cases where these belong to the two periods of Lincoln's career.

The correspondence is docketed by the names of addressees, and these divisions are arranged chronologically according to the date of the first letter in each division. This is the natural fashion in which Lincoln, according to the practice of all the lawyers of his day and of many at the present time, arranged his correspondence. It has the advantage to the average reader, who prefers to study character in relation to contemporaneous events, of concentrating his attention upon particular personalities, and at the same

time of unfolding in the natural inductive method not only the central character of Lincoln but also the general progress of American history.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

(Before March 4, 1861)

CORRESPONDENCE

(Before March 4, 1861)

Adam and Eve's Wedding Song.

In 1826, on the occasion of a wedding in his neighborhood, Lincoln wrote the following poem:

"When Adam was created
He dwelt in Eden's shade,
As Moses has recorded,
And soon a bride was made.

"Ten thousand times ten thousand
Of creatures swarmed around
Before a bride was formed,
And yet no mate was found.

"The Lord then was not willing
That man should be alone,
But caused a sleep upon him,
And from him took a bone,

"And closed the flesh instead thereof.
And then he took the same
And of it made a woman,
And brought her to the man.

"Then Adam he rejoiced
To see his loving bride
A part of his own body,
The product of his side.

"The woman was not taken
From Adam's feet we see,
So he must not abuse her,
The meaning seems to be.

"The woman was not taken
From Adam's head, we know,
To show she must not rule him—
'Tis evidently so.

"The woman she was taken
From under Adam's arm,
So she must be protected
From injuries and harm."

See also Lincoln's correspondence with William Johnston.

On May 22, 1849 (?) Lincoln patented an invention for lifting vessels over shoals. In his application (which was accompanied by a model) he wrote:

Application for a Patent.[1]

What I claim as my invention, and desire to secure by letters patent, is the combination of expansible buoyant chambers placed at the sides of a vessel with the main shaft or shafts by means of the sliding spars, which pass down through the buoyant chambers and are made

[1] The invention that Lincoln patented was an improvement for lifting vessels over shoals. The inscription above the model in the Patent Office states that it was patented by Lincoln, May 22, 1849. The apparatus consists of a bellows on either side of the hull of a craft just below the water line which is controlled by a simple and unique system of pulleys. These air repositories are intended to buoy up the vessels when in danger of grounding on reef or other obstruction. The model is about eighteen or twenty inches in length and appears to have been whittled out of a shingle and a cigar box.

fast to their bottoms and the series of ropes and pulleys or their equivalents in such a manner that by turning the main shaft or shafts in one direction the buoyant chambers will be forced downwards into the water, and at the same time expanded and filled with air for buoying up the vessel by the displacement of water, and by turning the shafts in an opposite direction the buoyant chambers will be contracted into a small space and secured against injury.

A. Lincoln.

In his unsuccessful contest with Justin Butterfield for Commissioner of the General Land Office, Lincoln wrote the following letter to influential friends:

Springfield, Illinois, June 5, 1849.

Dear Sir: Would you as soon I should have the General Land Office as any other Illinoisan? If you would, write me to that effect at Washington, where I shall be soon. No time to lose.

Yours in haste, A. Lincoln.

Autobiographical Data in "Dictionary of Congress."

The compiler of the *Dictionary of Congress* states that while preparing that work for publication in 1858, he sent to Mr. Lincoln the usual request for a sketch of his life, and received in June of that year the following reply:

Born, February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky.

Education defective.

Profession, a lawyer.

Have been a captain of volunteers in Black Hawk War.

Postmaster at a very small office.

Four times a member of the Illinois legislature, and was a member of the lower house of Congress. Yours, etc., A. Lincoln.

Jesse W. Fell.

Springfield, December 20, 1859.

J. W. Fell, Esq.

My dear Sir: Herewith is a little sketch, as you requested. There is not much of it, for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me. If anything be made out of it, I wish it to be modest, and not to go beyond the material. If it were thought necessary to incorporate anything from any of my speeches, I suppose there would be no objection. Of course it must not appear to have been written by myself. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

I was born February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky. My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families—second families, perhaps I should say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks, some of whom now reside in Adams, and others in Macon County, Illinois. My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham County, Virginia, to Kentucky about 1781 or 1782, where a year or two later he was killed by the Indians, not in battle, but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. His ancestors, who were Quakers, went to Virginia from Berks County, Pennsylvania. An effort to identify them with the New England family of

the same name ended in nothing more definite than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like.

My father, at the death of his father, was but six years of age, and he grew up literally without education. He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in my eighth year. We reached our new home about the time the State came into the Union. It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. There were some schools, so called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond "readin', writin', and cipherin'" to the rule of three. If a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. Of course, when I came of age I did not know much. Still, somehow, I could read, write and cipher to the rule of three, but that was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education, I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity.

I was raised to farm work, which I continued till I was twenty-two. At twenty-one I came to Illinois, Macon County. Then I got to New Salem, at that time in Sangamon, now in Menard County, where I remained a year as a sort of clerk in a store. Then came the Black Hawk War; and I was elected a captain of volunteers, a success which gave me more pleasure than any I have had since. I went the campaign, was elated, ran for the legislature the same year

(1832), and was beaten—the only time I have ever been beaten by the people. The next and three succeeding biennial elections I was elected to the legislature. I was not a candidate afterward. During this legislative period I had studied law, and removed to Springfield to practise it. In 1846 I was once elected to the lower house of Congress. Was not a candidate for reëlection. From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, practiced law more assiduously than ever before. Always a Whig in politics; and generally on the Whig electoral tickets, making active canvasses. I was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again. What I have done since that is pretty well known.

If any personal description of me is thought desirable, it may be said I am, in height, six feet four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing on an average one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair and gray eyes. No other marks or brands recollected. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Autobiographical Memorandum given to the Artist Thomas Hicks.

I was born February 12, 1809, in then Hardin County, Kentucky, at a point within the now county of Larue, a mile, or a mile and a half, from where Hodgen's mill now is. My parents being dead, and my own memory not serving, I know no means of identifying the precise locality. It was on Nolin Creek. A. Lincoln.

June 14, 1860.

Short Autobiography Written in June, 1860, at the Request of a Friend to Use in Preparing a Popular Campaign Biography.

Abraham Lincoln was born February 12, 1809, then in Hardin, now in the more recently formed county of Larue, Kentucky. His father, Thomas, and grandfather, Abraham, were born in Rockingham County, Virginia, whither their ancestors had come from Berks County, Pennsylvania. His lineage has been traced no farther back than this. The family were originally Quakers, though in later times they have fallen away from the peculiar habits of that people. The grandfather, Abraham, had four brothers—Isaac, Jacob, John, and Thomas. So far as known, the descendants of Jacob and John are still in Virginia. Isaac went to a place near where Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee join; and his descendants are in that region. Thomas came to Kentucky, and after many years died there, whence his descendants went to Missouri. Abraham, grandfather of the subject of this sketch, came to Kentucky, and was killed by Indians about the year 1784. He left a widow, three sons, and two daughters. The eldest son, Mordecai, remained in Kentucky till late in life, when he removed to Hancock County, Illinois, where soon after he died, and where several of his descendants still remain. The second son, Josiah, removed at an early day to a place on Blue River, now within Hancock County, Indiana, but no recent information of him or his family has been obtained. The eldest sister, Mary, married Ralph Crume, and some of her descendants are now known to be in Breckin-

ridge County, Kentucky. The second sister, Nancy, married William Brumfield, and her family are not known to have left Kentucky, but there is no recent information from them. Thomas, the youngest son, and father of the present subject, by the early death of his father, and very narrow circumstances of his mother, even in childhood was a wandering laboring-boy, and grew up literally without education. He never did more in the way of writing than to bunglingly write his own name. Before he was grown he passed one year as a hired hand with his uncle Isaac on Watauga, a branch of the Holston River. Getting back into Kentucky, and having reached his twenty-eighth year, he married Nancy Hanks—mother of the present subject—in the year 1806. She also was born in Virginia; and relatives of hers of the name of Hanks, and of other names, now reside in Coles, in Macon, and in Adams counties, Illinois, and also in Iowa. The present subject has no brother or sister of the whole or half blood. He had a sister, older than himself, who was grown and married, but died many years ago, leaving no child; also a brother, younger than himself, who died in infancy. Before leaving Kentucky, he and his sister were sent, for short periods, to A B C schools, the first kept by Zachariah Riney, and the second by Caleb Hazel.

At this time his father resided on Knob Creek, on the road from Bardstown, Kentucky, to Nashville, Tennessee, at a point three or three and a half miles south or southwest of Atherton's Ferry, on the Rolling Fork. From this place he removed to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in the autumn of 1816, Abraham

then being in his eighth year. This removal was partly on account of slavery, but chiefly on account of the difficulty in land titles in Kentucky. He settled in an unbroken forest, and the clearing away of surplus wood was the great task ahead. Abraham, though very young, was large of his age, and had an ax put into his hands at once; and from that till within his twenty-third year he was almost constantly handling that most useful instrument—less, of course, in plowing and harvesting seasons. At this place Abraham took an early start as a hunter, which was never much improved afterward. A few days before the completion of his eighth year, in the absence of his father, a flock of wild turkeys approached the new log cabin, and Abraham with a rifle-gun, standing inside, shot through a crack and killed one of them. He has never since pulled a trigger on any larger game. In the autumn of 1818 his mother died; and a year afterward his father married Mrs. Sally Johnston, at Elizabethtown, Kentucky, a widow with three children of her first marriage. She proved a good and kind mother to Abraham, and is still living in Coles County, Illinois. There were no children of this second marriage. His father's residence continued at the same place in Indiana till 1830. While here Abraham went to A B C schools by littles, kept successively by Andrew Crawford, —— Sweeney, and Azel W. Dorsey. He does not remember any other. The family of Mr. Dorsey now resides in Schuyler County, Illinois. Abraham now thinks that the aggregate of all his schooling did not amount to one year. He was never in a college or academy as a student, and never inside of a college

or academy building till since he had a law license. What he has in the way of education he has picked up. After he was twenty-three and had separated from his father, he studied English grammar—imperfectly, of course, but so as to speak and write as well as he now does. He studied and nearly mastered the six books of Euclid since he was a member of Congress. He regrets his want of education, and does what he can to supply the want. In his tenth year he was kicked by a horse, and apparently killed for a time. When he was nineteen, still residing in Indiana, he made his first trip upon a flatboat to New Orleans. He was a hired hand merely, and he and a son of the owner, without other assistance, made the trip. The nature of part of the "cargo-load," as it was called, made it necessary for them to linger and trade along the sugar-coast; and one night they were attacked by seven negroes with intent to kill and rob them. They were hurt some in the mêlée, but succeeded in driving the negroes from the boat, and then "cut cable," "weighed anchor," and left.

March 1, 1830, Abraham having just completed his twenty-first year, his father and family, with the families of the two daughters and sons-in-law of his stepmother, left the old homestead in Indiana and came to Illinois. Their mode of conveyance was wagons drawn by ox-teams, and Abraham drove one of the teams. They reached the county of Macon, and stopped there some time within the same month of March. His father and family settled a new place on the north side of the Sangamon River, at the junction of the timberland and prairie,

about ten miles westerly from Decatur. Here they built a log cabin, into which they removed, and made sufficient of rails to fence ten acres of ground, fenced and broke the ground, and raised a crop of sown corn upon it the same year. These are, or are supposed to be, the rails about which so much is being said just now, though these are far from being the first or only rails ever made by Abraham.

The sons-in-law were temporarily settled in other places in the county. In the autumn all hands were greatly afflicted with ague and fever, to which they had not been used, and by which they were greatly discouraged, so much so that they determined on leaving the county. They remained, however, through the succeeding winter, which was the winter of the very celebrated "deep snow" of Illinois. During that winter Abraham, together with his stepmother's son, John D. Johnston, and John Hanks, yet residing in Macon County, hired themselves to Denton Offutt to take a flatboat from Beardstown, Illinois, to New Orleans; and for that purpose were to join him—Offutt—at Springfield, Illinois, so soon as the snow should go off. When it did go off, which was about the first of March, 1831, the county was so flooded as to make traveling by land impracticable; to obviate which difficulty they purchased a large canoe, and came down the Sangamon River in it. This is the time and the manner of Abraham's first entrance into Sangamon County. They found Offutt at Springfield, but learned from him that he had failed in getting a boat at Beardstown. This led to their hiring themselves to him for twelve dollars per month each, and getting the timber out

of the trees and building a boat at Old Sangamon town on the Sangamon River, seven miles northwest of Springfield, which boat they took to New Orleans, substantially upon the old contract.

During this boat-enterprise acquaintance with Offutt, who was previously an entire stranger, he conceived a liking for Abraham, and believing he could turn him to account, he contracted with him to act as clerk for him, on his return from New Orleans, in charge of a store and mill at New Salem, then in Sangamon, now in Menard County. Hanks had not gone to New Orleans, but having a family, and being likely to be detained from home longer than at first expected, had turned back from St. Louis. He is the same John Hanks who now engineers the "rail enterprise" at Decatur, and is a first cousin to Abraham's mother. Abraham's father, with his own family and others mentioned, had, in pursuance of their intention, removed from Macon to Coles County. John D. Johnston, the stepmother's son, went to them, and Abraham stopped indefinitely and for the first time, as it were, by himself at New Salem, before mentioned. This was in July, 1831. Here he rapidly made acquaintances and friends. In less than a year Offutt's business was failing—had almost failed—when the Black Hawk War of 1832 broke out. Abraham joined a volunteer company, and, to his own surprise, was elected captain of it. He says he has not since had any success in life which gave him so much satisfaction. He went to the campaign, served near three months, met the ordinary hardships of such an expedition, but was in no battle. He

now owns, in Iowa, the land upon which his own warrants for the service were located. Returning from the campaign, and encouraged by his great popularity among his immediate neighbors, he the same year ran for the legislature, and was beaten,—his own precinct, however, casting its votes 277 for and 7 against him—and that, too, while he was an avowed Clay man, and the precinct the autumn afterward giving a majority of 115 to General Jackson over Mr. Clay. This was the only time Abraham was ever beaten on a direct vote of the people. He was now without means and out of business, but was anxious to remain with his friends who had treated him with so much generosity, especially as he had nothing elsewhere to go to. He studied what he should do—thought of learning the blacksmith trade—thought of trying to study law—rather thought he could not succeed at that without a better education. Before long, strangely enough, a man offered to sell, and did sell, to Abraham and another as poor as himself, an old stock of goods, upon credit. They opened as merchants; and he says that was *the* store. Of course they did nothing but get deeper and deeper in debt. He was appointed postmaster at New Salem—the office being too insignificant to make his politics an objection. The store winked out. The surveyor of Sangamon offered to depute to Abraham that portion of his work which was within his part of the county. He accepted, procured a compass and chain, studied Flint and Gibson a little, and went at it. This procured bread, and kept soul and body together. The election of 1834 came, and he was then elected to the legislature by the highest vote cast for

any candidate. Major John T. Stuart, then in full practice of the law, was also elected. During the canvass, in a private conversation he encouraged Abraham [*to*] study law. After the election he borrowed books of Stuart, took them home with him, and went at it in good earnest. He studied with nobody. He still mixed in the surveying to pay board and clothing bills. When the legislature met, the law-books were dropped, but were taken up again at the end of the session. He was reëlected in 1836, 1838, and 1840. In the autumn of 1836, he obtained a law license, and on April 15, 1837, removed to Springfield, and commenced the practice—his old friend Stuart taking him into partnership. March 3, 1837, by a protest entered upon the *Illinois House Journal* of that date, at pages 817 and 818, Abraham with Dan Stone, another representative of Sangamon, briefly defined his position on the slavery question; and so far as it goes, it was then the same that it is now. The protest is as follows:

> Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the General Assembly at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same.
>
> They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy, but that the promulgation of Abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils.
>
> They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States.
>
> They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power, under the Constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but that the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of the District.

The difference between these opinions and those contained in the above resolutions is their reason for entering this protest.

Dan Stone,
A. Lincoln,
Representatives from the County of Sangamon.

In 1838 and 1840, Mr. Lincoln's party voted for him as Speaker, but being in the minority he was not elected. After 1840 he declined a reëlection to the legislature. He was on the Harrison electoral ticket in 1840, and on that of Clay in 1844, and spent much time and labor in both those canvasses. In November, 1842, he was married to Mary, daughter of Robert S. Todd, of Lexington, Kentucky. They have three living children, all sons, one born in 1843, one in 1850, and one in 1853. They lost one, who was born in 1846.

In 1846 he was elected to the lower house of Congress, and served one term only, commencing in December, 1847, and ending with the inauguration of General Taylor, in March, 1849. All the battles of the Mexican War had been fought before Mr. Lincoln took his seat in Congress, but the American army was still in Mexico, and the treaty of peace was not fully and formally ratified till the June afterward. Much has been said of his course in Congress in regard to this war. A careful examination of the *Journal* and *Congressional Globe* shows that he voted for all the supply measures that came up, and for all the measures in any way favorable to the officers, soldiers, and their families, who conducted the war through: with the exception that some of these measures passed without yeas and nays, leaving no record as to how particular men voted. The *Journal* and *Globe* also

show him voting that the war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun by the President of the United States. This is the language of Mr. Ashmun's amendment, for which Mr. Lincoln and nearly or quite all other Whigs of the House of Representatives voted.

Mr. Lincoln's reasons for the opinion expressed by this vote were briefly that the President had sent General Taylor into an inhabited part of the country belonging to Mexico, and not to the United States, and thereby had provoked the first act of hostility, in fact the commencement of the war; that the place being the country bordering on the east bank of the Rio Grande, was inhabited by native Mexicans, born there under the Mexican Government, and had never submitted to, nor been conquered by, Texas or the United States, nor transferred to either by treaty; that although Texas claimed the Rio Grande as her boundary, Mexico had never recognized it, and neither Texas nor the United States had ever enforced it; that there was a broad desert between that and the country over which Texas had actual control; that the country where hostilities commenced, having once belonged to Mexico, must remain so until it was somehow legally transferred, which had never been done.

Mr. Lincoln thought the act of sending an armed force among the Mexicans was unnecessary, inasmuch as Mexico was in no way molesting or menacing the United States or the people thereof; and that it was unconstitutional, because the power of levying war is vested in Congress, and not in the President. He thought the principal motive for the act was to divert public attention from the surrender of "Fifty-

four, forty, or fight" to Great Britain, on the Oregon boundary question.

Mr. Lincoln was not a candidate for reëlection. This was determined upon and declared before he went to Washington, in accordance with an understanding among Whig friends, by which Colonel Hardin and Colonel Baker had each previously served a single term in this same district.

In 1848, during his term in Congress, he advocated General Taylor's nomination for the presidency, in opposition to all others, and also took an active part for his election after his nomination, speaking a few times in Maryland, near Washington, several times in Massachusetts, and canvassing quite fully his own district in Illinois, which was followed by a majority in the district of over 1,500 for General Taylor.

Upon his return from Congress he went to the practice of the law with greater earnestness than ever before. In 1852 he was upon the Scott electoral ticket, and did something in the way of canvassing, but owing to the hopelessness of the cause in Illinois he did less than in previous presidential canvasses.

In 1854 his profession had almost superseded the thought of politics in his mind, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused him as he had never been before.

In the autumn of that year he took the stump with no broader practical aim or object than to secure, if possible, the reëlection of Hon. Richard Yates to Congress. His speeches at once attracted a more marked attention than they had ever before done. As the canvass proceeded he was drawn to different parts of the State outside of Mr. Yates's district. He did not abandon

the law, but gave his attention by turns to that and politics. The State agricultural fair was at Springfield that year, and Douglas was announced to speak there.

In the canvass of 1856 Mr. Lincoln made over fifty speeches, no one of which, so far as he remembers, was put in print. One of them was made at Galena, but Mr. Lincoln has no recollection of any part of it being printed; nor does he remember whether in that speech he said anything about a Supreme Court decision. He may have spoken upon that subject, and some of the newspapers may have reported him as saying what is now ascribed to him; but he thinks he could not have expressed himself as represented.

Form of Reply Prepared by Mr. Lincoln for Use in the Campaign of 1860.

Springfield, Illinois, ———, 1860.

Dear Sir: Your letter to Mr. Lincoln of ———, and by which you seek to obtain his opinions on certain political points, has been received by him. He has received others of a similar character, but he also has a greater number of the exactly opposite character. The latter class beseech him to write nothing whatever upon any point of political doctrine. They say his positions were well known when he was nominated, and that he must not now embarrass the canvass by undertaking to shift or modify them. He regrets that he cannot oblige all, but you perceive it is impossible for him to do so.

Yours, etc., Jno. G. Nicolay.

GEORGE SPEARS.

Mr. Spears:

At your request I send you a receipt for the postage on your paper. I am somewhat surprised at your request. I will, however, comply with it. The law requires newspaper postage to be paid in advance, and now that I have waited a full year you choose to wound my feelings by insinuating that unless you get a receipt I will probably make you pay it again—

Respectfully, A. Lincoln.

Received of George Spears in full for postage on the *Sangamon Journal* up to the first of July, 1834. A. Lincoln, P. M.

ROBERT ALLEN.

New Salem, June 21, 1836.

Dear Colonel: I am told that during my absence last week you passed through this place, and stated publicly that you were in possession of a fact or facts which, if known to the public, would entirely destroy the prospects of N. W. Edwards and myself at the ensuing election;[1] but that, through favor to us, you should forbear to divulge them. No one has needed favors more than I, and, generally, few have been less unwilling to accept them; but in this case favor to me would be injustice to the public, and therefore I must beg your pardon for declining it. That I once had the confidence of the people of Sangamon, is sufficiently evident; and if I have since done anything, either by design or misadventure, which if known would subject me to a forfeiture of that confidence, he that knows of

[1] To the Illinois Legislature.

that thing, and conceals it, is a traitor to his country's interest.

I find myself wholly unable to form any conjecture of what fact or facts, real or supposed, you spoke; but my opinion of your veracity will not permit me for a moment to doubt that you at least believed what you said. I am flattered with the personal regard you manifested for me; but I do hope that on more mature reflection, you will view the public interest as a paramount consideration, and therefore determine to let the worst come. I here assure you that the candid statement of facts on your part, however low it may sink me, shall never break the tie of personal friendship between us. I wish an answer to this, and you are at liberty to publish both, if you choose. Very respectfully,

A. Lincoln.

Miss Mary Owens.[1]

Vandalia, December 13, 1836.

Mary: I have been sick ever since my arrival, or I should have written sooner. It is but little difference, however, as I have very little even yet to write. And more, the longer I can avoid the mortification of looking in the post-office for your letter and not finding it, the better. You see I am mad about that old letter yet. I don't like very well to risk you again. I'll try you once more, anyhow.

The new State House is not yet finished, and consequently the legislature is doing little or nothing. The Governor delivered an inflamma-

[1] For account of Lincoln's courtship of this young lady, see biography.

tory political message, and it is expected there will be some sparring between the parties about it as soon as the two Houses get to business. Taylor delivered up his petition for the new county to one of our members this morning. I am told he despairs of its success, on account of all the members from Morgan County opposing it. There are names enough on the petition, I think, to justify the members from our county in going for it; but if the members from Morgan oppose it, which they say they will, the chance will be bad.

Our chance to take the seat of government to Springfield is better than I expected. An internal-improvement convention was held here since we met, which recommended a loan of several millions of dollars, on the faith of the State, to construct railroads. Some of the legislature are for it, and some against it; which has the majority I cannot tell. There is great strife and struggling for the office of the United States Senator here at this time. It is probable we shall ease their pains in a few days. The opposition men have no candidate of their own, and consequently they will smile as complacently at the angry snarl of the contending Van Buren candidates and their respective friends as the Christian does at Satan's rage. You recollect that I mentioned at the outset of this letter that I had been unwell. That is the fact, though I believe I am about well now; but that, with other things I cannot account for, have conspired, and have gotten my spirits so low that I feel that I would rather be any place in the world than here. I really cannot endure the thought of staying here ten weeks. Write back as soon as you

get this, and, if possible, say something that will please me, for really I have not been pleased since I left you. This letter is so dry and stupid that I am ashamed to send it, but with my present feelings I cannot do any better.

Give my best respects to Mr. and Mrs. Able and family. Your friend, Lincoln.

Springfield, May 7, 1837.

Miss Mary S. Owens.

Friend Mary: I have commenced two letters to send you before this, both of which displeased me before I got half done, and so I tore them up. The first I thought was not serious enough, and the second was on the other extreme. I shall send this, turn out as it may.

This thing of living in Springfield is rather a dull business, after all; at least it is so to me. I am quite as lonesome here as I ever was anywhere in my life. I have been spoken to by but one woman since I have been here, and should not have been by her if she could have avoided it. I've never been to church yet, and probably shall not be soon. I stay away because I am conscious I should not know how to behave myself.

I am often thinking of what we said about your coming to live at Springfield. I am afraid you would not be satisfied. There is a great deal of flourishing about in carriages here, which it would be your doom to see without sharing it. You would have to be poor, without the means of hiding your poverty. Do you believe you could bear that patiently? Whatever woman may cast her lot with mine, should any ever do so, it is my intention to do all in my power to

make her happy and contented; and there is nothing I can imagine that would make me more unhappy than to fail in the effort. I know I should be much happier with you than the way I am, provided I saw no signs of discontent in you. What you have said to me may have been in the way of jest, or I may have misunderstood it. If so, then let it be forgotten; if otherwise, I much wish you would think seriously before you decide. What I have said I will most positively abide by, provided you wish it. My opinion is that you had better not do it. You have not been accustomed to hardship, and it may be more severe than you now imagine. I know you are capable of thinking correctly on any subject, and if you deliberate maturely upon this before you decide, then I am willing to abide your decision.

You must write me a good long letter after you get this. You have nothing else to do, and though it might not seem interesting to you after you had written it, it would be a good deal of company to me in this "busy wilderness." Tell your sister I don't want to hear any more about selling out and moving. That gives me the "hypo" whenever I think of it.

Yours, etc., Lincoln.

Springfield, August 16, 1837.

Friend Mary: You will no doubt think it rather strange that I should write you a letter on the same day on which we parted, and I can only account for it by supposing that seeing you lately makes me think of you more than usual; while at our late meeting we had but few expressions of thoughts. You must know that I

cannot see you or think of you with entire indifference; and yet it may be that you are mistaken in regard to what my real feelings toward you are. If I knew you were not, I should not trouble you with this letter. Perhaps any other man would know enough without further information; but I consider it my peculiar right to plead ignorance, and your bounden duty to allow the plea. I want in all cases to do right, and most particularly so in all cases with women. I want at this particular time, more than anything else, to do right with you; and if I knew it would be doing right, as I rather suspect it would, to let you alone, I would do it. And for the purpose of making the matter as plain as possible, I now say that you can now drop the subject, dismiss your thoughts (if you ever had any) from me forever, and leave this letter unanswered, without calling forth one accusing murmur from me. And I will even go further, and say that if it will add anything to your comfort or peace of mind to do so, it is my sincere wish that you should. Do not understand by this that I wish to cut your acquaintance. I mean no such thing. What I do wish is that our further acquaintance shall depend upon yourself. If such further acquaintance would contribute nothing to your happiness, I am sure it would not to mine. If you feel yourself in any degree bound to me, I am now willing to release you, provided you wish it; while, on the other hand, I am willing and even anxious to bind you faster, if I can be convinced that it will, in any considerable degree, add to your happiness. This, indeed, is the whole question with me. Nothing would make me more miserable than to believe you

miserable—nothing more happy than to know you were so.

In what I have now said, I think I cannot be misunderstood, and to make myself understood is the only object of this letter.

If it suits you best to not answer this, farewell. A long life and a merry one attend you. But if you conclude to write back, speak as plainly as I do. There can be neither harm nor danger in saying to me anything you think, just in the manner you think it.

My respects to your sister.

Your friend, Lincoln.

John Bennett.

On August 5, 1837, Lincoln wrote from Springfield to John Bennett of Menard County, Illinois, in reference to legislative matters of interest to that locality. Incidentally he asked about the chances of a candidate, "our friend, Dr. Henry," in "your diggings."

Springfield, March 7, 1843.

Friend Bennett:

Your letter of this day was handed me by Mr. Miles— It is too late now to effect the object you desire—on yesterday morning the most of the Whig members from this District got together and agreed to hold the convention at Tremont in Tazewell County—I am sorry to hear that any of the Whigs of your county, or indeed of any county, should longer be against conventions.—On last Wednesday evening a meeting of all the Whigs then here from all parts of the State was held, and the question of the propriety of conventions was brought up and fully discussed, and at the end of the discussion a reso-

lution recommending the system of conventions to all the Whigs of the State was unanimously adopted—Other resolutions were also passed, all of which will appear in the next *Journal.* The meeting also appointed a committee to draft an address to the people of the state, which address will also appear in the next *Journal.*

In it you will find a brief argument in favor of conventions—and although I wrote it myself I will say to you that it is conclusive upon the point and can not be reasonably answered. The right way for you to do is to hold your meeting and appoint delegates anyhow, and if there be any who will not take part, let it be so.—The matter will work so well this time that even they who now oppose will come in next time.

The convention is to be held at Tremont on the 5th of April and according to the rule we have adopted your county is to have delegates —being double the number of your representation—

If there be any good Whig who is disposed to stick out against conventions get him at least to read the argument in their favor in the address. Yours as ever. (No signature.)

On January 15, 1846, Lincoln wrote to Bennett from Springfield for information as to how Menard County was going in the contest between himself and Mr. Hardin for the Congressional nomination. He asked about the inclination of one man in particular, Morris. Lincoln requested Bennett to "write instantly, telling me all—particularly the names of those who are going strong against me."

On January 16, 1846, Lincoln sent to Bennett by a friend a batch of letters, presumably addressed to "those who were going against him," for Bennett to drop in the post-office, or hand to the addressees in person.

Springfield, August 4, 1856.

John Bennett, Esq.

Dear Sir: I understand you are a Fillmore man—If, as between Frémont and Buchanan you really prefer the election of Buchanan, then burn this without reading a line further—But if you would like to defeat Buchanan and his gang, allow me a word with you—Does any one pretend that Fillmore can carry the vote of this State? I have not heard a single man pretend so—Every vote taken from Frémont and given to Fillmore is just so much in favor of Buchanan. The Buchanan men see this; and hence their great anxiety in favor of the Fillmore movement—They know where the shoe pinches—They now greatly prefer having a man of your character go for Fillmore than for Buchanan because they expect several to go with you, who would go for Frémont, if you were to go directly for Buchanan.

I think I now understand the relative strength of the three parties in this State as well as any one man does and my opinion is that to-day Buchanan has alone 85,000—Frémont 78,000 and Fillmore 21,000. This gives B. the state by 7,000 and leaves him in the minority of the whole 14,000.

Frémont and Fillmore men being united on Bissell [1] as they already are, he can not be beaten—This is not a long letter, but it contains the whole story. Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

[1] William H. Bissell, candidate for Governor of Illinois.

James Adams.

On August 19, 1837, a "handbill" appeared in the *Sangamon Journal,* of Springfield, Illinois, containing articles in reference to a case of the heirs of Joseph Anderson vs. James Adams, which had already been published and distributed in handbill form. The author regretted that the "publications were not made some weeks before the election," in which the said "General" Adams had been elected probate justice of the peace. "Such a course might have prevented the expressions of regret, which have often been heard since, from different individuals, on account of the disposition they made of their votes."

The handbill states that "in May or June last, a widow woman, by the name of Anderson, and her son," came to Springfield to sell "a ten-acre lot of ground lying near town which they claimed as the property of the deceased husband."

They found the land was claimed by General Adams, and employed "John T. Stuart and myself . . . to look into the matter," and if there was prospect of success, "to commence a suit for the land." It was found that there had been three transfers since the original entry, made in ten or eleven years, "all recorded at the same time, and that within less than one year."

"This," said the author of the handbill, "I thought a suspicious circumstance, and I was thereby induced to examine the deeds very closely, with a view to the discovery of some defect by which to overturn the title, being almost convinced that it was founded in fraud."

As a result of these investigations it was found that the deed to one Joseph Miller, who subsequently deeded the land to Adams, had been improperly recorded. This error was corrected by Mr. Talbott, the recorder. When Talbott handed the deed to Lincoln another paper fell out of it which proved to be an assignment in the Circuit Court of a judgment of $25 against Joseph Miller from Joseph Anderson, the late husband of the plaintiff, to James Adams. Now this assignment, dated May 10, 1827, was not obtained until the October afterwards. Though it bore date of 1827, the figure "2" had been made over a figure "3," and the freshness of

the writing and the old appearance of the paper indicated that the document was not more than a week old. "This assignment," says the author of the handbill, "I copied, word for word, letter for letter, and cross for cross." (*Here follows the copy.*)

Anderson, after he had purchased the land in question from one Thomas, before receiving a deed for it, had sold it to Miller, taking as payment a note for $25. "When this note became due, Anderson sued Miller on it, and Miller procured an injunction from the Court of Chancery to stay the collection . . . until he could get a deed for the land. . . . At the October term, 1827, the injunction was dissolved, and a judgment given in favor of Anderson," and it was provided that Thomas was to execute a deed for the land in favor of Miller, and deliver it to General Adams, Anderson's attorney, to be held up by him till Miller paid the judgment, when Adams was to deliver it to Miller. "Miller left the county without paying the judgment. Anderson moved to Fulton County, where he has since died." When the widow "found the land deeded to General Adams by Miller, she was naturally led to inquire why the money due upon the judgment had not been sent to them, inasmuch as he, General Adams, had no authority to deliver Thomas's deed to Miller until the money was paid." General Adams told her that Anderson *had assigned the judgment to him.*

The author of the handbill continues:

I am now told that the General is exhibiting an assignment of the same judgment bearing date "1828"; and in other respects differing from the one described; and that he is asserting that no such assignment as the one copied by me ever existed; or if there did, it was forged between Talbott and the lawyers, and slipped into his [*Adams's*] papers for the purpose of injuring him. Now, I can only say that I know precisely such a one did exist, and that Ben. Talbott, Wm. Butler, C. R. Matheny, John T. Stuart, Judge Logan, Robert Irwin, P. C. Canedy, and

S. M. Tinsley, all saw and examined it, and that at least one-half of them will swear that IT WAS IN GENERAL ADAMS'S HAND-WRITING!! And further, I know that Talbott will swear that he got it out of the General's possession, and returned it into his possession again. The assignment which the General is now exhibiting purports to have been by Anderson in writing. The one I copied was signed with a cross. I am told that General Neale says that he will swear, that he heard General Adams tell young Anderson that the assignment by his father was signed with a cross. . . .

I have only made these statements because I am known by many to be one of the individuals against whom the charge of forging the assignment and slipping it into the General's papers, has been made; and because our silence might be construed into a confession of its truth. I shall not subscribe my name; but I hereby authorize the editor of the *Journal* to give it up to any one that may call for it.

To the reprint of the handbill in the *Sangamon Journal* the editor appended the following note:

It having been stated this morning that the subscriber had refused to give the name of the handbill above referred to (which statement is not true): to save any farther remarks on this subject, I now state that A. Lincoln, Esq., is the author of the handbill in question —Simeon Francis.

On September 6, 1837, General Adams published a communication in the *Illinois Republican*, replying to Lincoln's handbill. In it Adams and the editor of the *Republican* attempted to prove: *First,* that the assignment could not have been in the deed when Talbott, the recorder, got it, else he would have observed it, of which observation Lincoln made no mention. *Second,*

that Talbott had stated that he had not found the assignment in the deed, but in another paper. *Third,* that the assignment in question had been "manufactured at a certain lawyer's [*Lincoln's*] office between two days just before the last election." *Fourth,* that Talbott, the recorder, had exhibited signs of guilt upon bringing the papers to Adams's house. *Fifth,* that he, Adams, had never concealed his possession of the *genuine* assignment, but, on the contrary, had publicly acknowledged it.

On September 6, 1837, Lincoln wrote to the *Sangamon Journal* a communication which was published on September 9, 1837, under the heading of "Lincoln and Talbott Reply to General Adams." It answered the five points of Adams as follows:

1. I omitted to state the fact of Talbott's seeing the assignment, because its existence was so necessarily connected with other facts which I did state, that I thought the greatest dunce could not but understand it. . . . We may expect to find the General, if a little harder pressed for argument, saying that I said Talbott came to our office with his head downward, . . . because I omitted to say he came feet downward.

2. If Talbott did find [*the assignment*] in another paper at *his* office, is that any reason why he could not have folded it in a deed and brought it to my office?

3. Turn to Mr. Keys's affidavit: "I certify that some time in May or the early part of June, 1837, I saw at Williams's corner, a paper purporting to be an assignment from Joseph Anderson to James Adams, which assignment was signed by a mark to Anderson's name," etc. Now, mark, if Keys saw the assignment on the last of May or first of June, General Adams tells a falsehood when he says it was *manufactured just before the election,* which was on the

7th of August; and if it was manufactured just before the election, Keys tells a falsehood when he says he saw it on the last of May or first of June. Either Keys or the General is irretrievably in for it; and in the General's very condescending language, I say, "let them settle it between them."

4. Commenting on Weber's affidavit [*that Talbott in delivering certain papers at General Adams's house had appeared "wild and confused"*] General Adams asks, "Why this fright and confusion?" I reply that this is a question for the General himself. Weber says that it was in *May*. . . . Is it not a strong evidence that the General is not traveling with the pole-star of truth in his front to see him in one part of his address roundly asserting that the assignment was manufactured *just before the election*, and then, forgetting that position, procuring Weber's most foolish affidavit to prove that Talbott had been engaged in manufacturing it *two months before?*

5. In another part of his address, General Adams says, "That I hold an assignment of said judgment, dated the 20th day of May, 1828, and signed by said Anderson, I have never pretended to deny or to conceal, but stated that fact in one of my circulars previous to the election, and also in answer *to a bill in chancery*." Now I pronounce this statement unqualifiedly false. . . . In his circular he did speak of an assignment, but he *did not* say it bore date 20th of May, 1828. . . . In his answer in chancery he did say that he had an assignment, but he did *not* say that it bore date the 20th of May, 1828; but so far from it, he said on oath that as well as recollected, he obtained it in 1827. . . .

In conclusion I will only say that I have a character to defend as well as General Adams, but I disdain to *whine* about it as he does. It is true I have no children nor *kitchen boys;*[1] and if I had, I would scorn to lug them in to make affidavits for me. A. Lincoln.

On October 18, 1837, there appeared in the *Illinois Republican* a communication from General Adams, six columns in length, in defense of his position. On the same day Lincoln wrote a letter to the *Sangamon Journal,* which appeared on October 28, 1837, under the heading of "Reply to General Adams. To the Public."

In this Lincoln points out that Adams retreats from his charge that the assignment was manufactured "between two days just before the election," and to the contrary offers new testimony that this was done "some weeks before election."

Then, Lincoln calls attention to the fact that Adams ignores the telling points made against him. "I mention these things," says Lincoln, "because, if, when I convict him in one falsehood, he is permitted to shift his ground and pass it by in silence, there can be no end to this controversy."

Of Adams's threat that there are "those who are made to suffer at his hands," Lincoln expresses no fear, sarcastically observing that he is neither a *widow* nor an *orphan,* and that he has no wife nor children who might become such. In reply to Adams's attack on lawyers, Lincoln reminds him that "when he [*Adams*] first came to this country he attempted to impose upon the community as a *lawyer,* and actually carried the attempt so far, as to induce a man who was under a charge of murder to entrust the defense of his life in his hands, and finally took his money and got him hanged."

Lincoln proves the falsity of the testimony of Lucian Adams, the General's son, who swore that Talbott, the recorder, pointed out to him the error *in the deed.* "Turn to Lucian's affidavit," says Lincoln, "and you will there see that Talbott called for the deed by which

[1] Adams relied chiefly on the affidavits of his son and Weber, presumably a negro house servant.

to correct an error on the *record*. . . . How then could Talbott open the deed and point out the *error?* . . . It is easy enough to see why Lucian swore this. His object was to prove that the assignment *was not* in the deed when Talbott got it: but . . . he could not swear this safely without first swearing the deed was *opened* —and if he swore it was *opened,* he must show a *motive* for opening it."

Lincoln shows that Adams had a sufficient motive in forging the assignment in the fact that the one filed in the suit was insufficient for the purpose. "His making the date too old is also easily enough accounted for. The records were not in his hands, and then there being some considerable talk upon this particular subject, he knew he could not examine the records to ascertain the precise dates without subjecting himself to suspicion; and hence he concluded to try it by guess, and as it turned out, missed it a little."

After showing that Adams draws wholly unwarranted conclusions from the testimony, Lincoln refers to his attempt to compromise with his opponents:

"Speaking of Talbott and me he says, *'They may have been imposed upon.'* Can any man of the least penetration fail to see the object of this? After he has stormed and raged till he hopes and imagines he has got us a little scared, he wishes to softly whisper in our ears, 'If you'll quit I will.' If he could get us to say that some unknown, undefined being had slipped the assignment into our hands without our knowledge, not a doubt remains but that he would immediately discover that we were the purest men on earth. This is the ground that he evidently wishes us to understand he is willing to compromise upon. But we ask no such charity at his hands. We are neither *mistaken* nor *imposed upon.* We have made the statements we have, because we know them to be true and we choose to live or die by them."

Lincoln concludes:

General Adams's publications and out-door maneuvering taken in connection with the editorial articles of the *Republican*, are not more foolish and contradictory than they are ludicrous and amusing. One week the *Republican* notifies the public that General Adams is preparing an *instrument* that will tear, rend, split, rive, blow up, confound, overwhelm, annihilate, extinguish, exterminate, burst asunder, and grind to powder all its slanderers, and particularly Talbott and Lincoln—all of which is to be done *in due time*. Then for two or three weeks all is calm—not a word said. Again the *Republican* comes forth with a mere passing remark that "Public opinion has decided in favor of General Adams," and intimates that he will give himself no more trouble about the matter. In the meantime Adams himself is prowling about, and as Burns says of the Devil, "For prey, a' holes and corners tryin'," and in one instance goes so far as to take an old acquaintance of mine several steps from a crowd and, apparently weighed down with the importance of his business, gravely and solemnly asks him if "*he ever heard Lincoln say he was a Deist.*" Anon the *Republican* comes again, "We invite the attention of the public to General Adams's communication," etc. "The victory is a great one," "The triumph is overwhelming" (I really believe the editor of the *Illinois Republican* is fool enough to think General Adams is an honest man). Then General Adams leads off—"*Authors most egregiously mistaken,*" etc.—"*most wofully shall their presumption be punished,*" etc. (Lord have mercy on us.) "*The hour is yet to come, yea nigh at*

hand—(how long first do you reckon?)—*when the 'Journal' and its junto shall say, I have appeared too early—Their infamy shall be laid bare to the public gaze.*" Suddenly the General appears to relent at the severity with which he is treating us and he exclaims, "*The condemnation of my enemies is the inevitable result of my own defence.*" For your health's sake, dear General, do not permit your tenderness of heart to afflict you so much on our account. For some reason (perhaps because we are killed so quickly) we shall never be sensible of our suffering.

Farewell, General. I will see you again at Court, if not before—when and where we will settle the question whether you or the widow shall have the land. A. Lincoln.

October 18, 1837.

Mrs. O. H. Browning.

On April 1, 1838, Lincoln wrote a letter to the wife of his friend, Orville H. Browning, which is more appropriate to the day than creditable to the writer. Of this, Nicolay and Hay say:

"This letter has been published and severely criticised as showing a lack of gentlemanlike feeling. But those who take this view forget that he was writing to an intimate friend . . . that he mentioned no names, and that he threw such an air of humorous unreality about the whole story that the person who received it never dreamed that it recorded an actual occurrence until twenty-five years afterwards, when, having been asked to furnish it to a biographer, she was warned against doing so by the President himself, who said there was too much truth in it to print." (See correspondence with Miss Mary Owens.)

Springfield, April 1, 1838.

Dear Madam: Without apologizing for being egotistical, I shall make the history of so much

of my life as has elapsed since I saw you the subject of this letter. And, by the way, I now discover that in order to give a full and intelligible account of the things I have done and suffered since I saw you, I shall necessarily have to relate some that happened before.

It was, then, in the autumn of 1836 that a married lady of my acquaintance, and who was a great friend of mine, being about to pay a visit to her father and other relatives residing in Kentucky, proposed to me that on her return she would bring a sister of hers with her on condition that I would engage to become her brother-in-law with all convenient despatch. I, of course, accepted the proposal, for you know I could not have done otherwise had I really been averse to it; but privately between you and me, I was most confoundedly well pleased with the project. I had seen the said sister some three years before, thought her intelligent and agreeable, and saw no good objection to plodding life through hand in hand with her. Time passed on, the lady took her journey and in due time returned, sister in company, sure enough. This astonished me a little, for it appeared to me that her coming so readily showed that she was a trifle too willing, but on reflection it occurred to me that she might have been prevailed on by her married sister to come, without anything concerning me having been mentioned to her, and so I concluded that if no other objection presented itself, I would consent to waive this. All this occurred to me on hearing of her arrival in the neighborhood—for, be it remembered, I had not yet seen her, except about three years previous, as above

mentioned. In a few days we had an interview, and, although I had seen her before, she did not look as my imagination had pictured her. I knew she was over-size, but now she appeared a fair match for Falstaff. I knew she was called an "old maid," and I felt no doubt of the truth of at least half of the appellation, but now, when I beheld her, I could not for my life avoid thinking of my mother; and this, not from withered features,—for her skin was too full of fat to permit of its contracting into wrinkles,—but from her want of teeth, weather-beaten appearance in general, and from a kind of notion that ran in my head that nothing could have commenced at the size of infancy and reached her present bulk in less than thirty-five or forty years; and, in short, I was not at all pleased with her. But what could I do? I had told her sister that I would take her for better or for worse, and I made a point of honor and conscience in all things to stick to my word, especially if others had been induced to act on it, which in this case I had no doubt they had, for I was now fairly convinced that no other man on earth would have her, and hence the conclusion that they were bent on holding me to my bargain. "Well," thought I, "I have said it, and, be the consequences what they may it shall not be my fault if I fail to do it." At once I determined to consider her my wife, and this done, all my powers of discovery were put to work in search of perfections in her which might be fairly set off against her defects. I tried to imagine her handsome, which, but for her unfortunate corpulency, was actually true. Exclusive of this, no woman that I have ever seen

has a finer face. I also tried to convince myself that the mind was much more to be valued than the person, and in this she was not inferior, as I could discover, to any with whom I had been acquainted.

Shortly after this, without attempting to come to any positive understanding with her, I set out for Vandalia, when and where you first saw me. During my stay there I had letters from her which did not change my opinion of either her intellect or intention, but, on the contrary, confirmed it in both.

All this while, although I was fixed "firm as the surge-repelling rock" in my resolution, I found I was continually repenting the rashness which had led me to make it. Through life I have been in no bondage, either real or imaginary, from the thraldom of which I so much desired to be free. After my return home I saw nothing to change my opinion of her in any particular. She was the same, and so was I. I now spent my time in planning how I might get along in life after my contemplated change in circumstances should have taken place, and how I might procrastinate the evil day for a time, which I really dreaded as much, perhaps more, than an Irishman does the halter.

After all my sufferings upon this deeply interesting subject, here I am, wholly, unexpectedly, completely out of the "scrape," and I now want to know if you can guess how I got out of it—out, clear, in every sense of the term—no violation of word, honor, or conscience. I don't believe you can guess, and so I might as well tell you at once. As the lawyer says, it was done in the manner following, to wit: After I had de-

layed the matter as long as I thought I could in honor do (which, by the way, had brought me round into the last fall), I concluded I might as well bring it to a consummation without further delay, and so I mustered my resolution and made the proposal to her direct; but, shocking to relate, she answered, No. At first I supposed she did it through an affectation of modesty, which I thought but ill became her under the peculiar circumstances of her case, but on my renewal of the charge I found she repelled it with greater firmness than before. I tried it again and again, but with the same success, or rather with the same want of success.

I finally was forced to give it up, at which I very unexpectedly found myself mortified almost beyond endurance. I was mortified, it seemed to me, in a hundred different ways. My vanity was deeply wounded by the reflection that I had so long been too stupid to discover her intentions, and at the same time never doubting that I understood them perfectly; and also that she, whom I had taught myself to believe nobody else would have, had actually rejected me with all my fancied greatness. And, to cap the whole, I then for the first time began to suspect that I was really a little in love with her. But let it all go! I'll try and outlive it. Others have been made fools of by the girls, but this can never with truth be said of me. I most emphatically, in this instance, made a fool of myself. I have now come to the conclusion never again to think of marrying, and for this reason—I can never be satisfied with any one who would be blockhead enough to have me.

When you receive this, write me a long yarn

about something to amuse me. Give my respects to Mr. Browning.

Your sincere friend, A. Lincoln.

Mrs. O. H. Browning.

JOHN T. STUART.

Vandalia, February 14, 1839.

Dear Stuart: I have a note in bank which falls due some time between the 20th and last of this month. Butler stands as principal, and I as security; but I am in reality the principal. It will take between fifty and fifty-five dollars to renew it. Butler has more than that much money in his hands which he collected on a debt of mine since I came away. I wish you to call at the bank, have a note filled over my name signed below, get Butler to sign it, and also to let you have the money to renew it. Ewing won't do anything. He is not worth a damn.

Your friend, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, November 14, 1839.

Dear Stuart: I have been to the secretary's office within the last hour, and find things precisely as you left them. No new arrivals of returns on either side. Douglas has not been here since you left. A report is in circulation here now that he has abandoned the idea of going to Washington, though the report does not come in a very authentic form, so far as I can learn. Though, by the way, speaking of authenticity, you know that if we had heard Douglas say that he had abandoned the contest, it would not be very authentic. . . .

Your friend, as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, December 23, 1839.

Dear Stuart: Dr. Henry will write you all the political news. I write this about some little matters of business. You recollect you told me you had drawn the Chicago Masack money, and sent it to the claimants. A —— hawk-billed Yankee is here besetting me at every turn I take, saying that Robert Kinzie never received the eighty dollars to which he was entitled. Can you tell anything about the matter? Again, old Mr. Wright, who lives up South Fork somewhere, is teasing me continually about some deeds which he says he left with you, but which I can find nothing of. Can you tell where they are? The legislature is in session, and has suffered the bank [1] to forfeit its charter without benefit of clergy. There seems to be little disposition to resuscitate it.

Whenever a letter comes from you to Mrs. ——, I carry it to her, and then I see Betty; she is a tolerable nice "fellow" now. Maybe I will write again when I get more time.

Your friend, as ever, A. Lincoln.

P. S. The Democratic giant [2] is here, but he is not now worth talking about. A. L.

[*Unsigned.*]

Springfield, January 1, 1840.

Dear Stuart: There is considerable disposition, on the part of both parties in the legislature, to reinstate the law bringing on the congressional elections next summer. What motive for this

[1] State Bank; see Lincoln's speech upon it in Speeches.
[2] Stephen A. Douglas.

the Locos [1] have, I cannot tell. The Whigs say that the canal and other public works will stop, and consequently we shall then be clear of the foreign votes, whereas by another year they may be brought in again. The Whigs of our district say that everything is in favor of holding the election next summer, except the fact of your absence, and several of them have requested me to ask your opinion on the matter. Write me immediately what you think of it.

On the other side of this sheet I send you a copy of my Land Resolutions, which passed both branches of our legislature last winter. Will you show them to Mr. Calhoun, informing him of the fact of their passage through our legislature? Mr. Calhoun suggested a similar proposition last winter; and perhaps if he finds himself backed by one of the States, he may be induced to take it up again. You will see by the resolutions that you and the others of our delegation in Congress are instructed to go for them.

Springfield, January 20, 1840.

Dear Stuart: Yours of the 5th instant is received. It is the first from you for a great while. You wish the news from here. The legislature is in session yet, but has done nothing of importance. The following is my guess as to what will be done. The internal improvement system will be put down in a lump without benefit of clergy. The bank will be resuscitated with some trifling modifications. Whether the canal will go ahead or stop is very doubtful. Whether the State House will go ahead depends

[1] Abbreviation for "Locofoco," a popular name for Democrat.

upon the laws already in force. A proposition made in the House to-day, to throw off to the Territory of Wisconsin about fourteen of our northern counties, decided: ayes, eleven; noes, seventy. Be sure to send me as many copies of the *Life of Harrison* as you can spare from other uses. Be very sure to procure and send me the *Senate Journal* of New York of September, 1814. I have a newspaper article which says that that document proves that Van Buren voted against raising troops in the last war. And, in general, send me everything you think will be a good "war-club."

The nomination of Harrison takes first-rate. You know I am never sanguine; but I believe we will carry the State. The chance for doing so appears to me twenty-five per cent. better than it did for you to beat Douglas. A great many of the grocery sort of Van Buren men, as formerly, are out for Harrison. Our Irish blacksmith, Gregory, is for Harrison. I believe I may say that all our friends think the chance of carrying the State very good. You have heard that the Whigs and Locos had a political discussion shortly after the meeting of the legislature. Well, I made a big speech which is in progress of printing in pamphlet form.[1] To enlighten you and the rest of the world, I shall send you a copy when it is finished. I can't think of anything else now.

Your friend, as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, January 21, 1840.

Dear Stuart: A bill bringing on the congressional elections in this State next summer has

[1] See Speeches.

passed the House of Representatives this minute. As I think it will also pass the Senate, I take the earliest moment to advise you of it. I do not think any one of our political friends wishes to push you off the track. Anticipating the introduction of this bill, I wrote you for your feelings on the subject several weeks since, but have received no answer. It may be that my letter miscarried; if so, will you, on the receipt of this, write me what you think and feel about the matter? Nothing new except I believe I have got our Truett debt secured. I have Truett's note at twelve months, with his brother Myers as security.

Your friend, as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, March 1, 1840.

Dear Stuart: I have never seen the prospects of our party so bright in these parts as they are now. We shall carry this county by a larger majority than we did in 1836, when you ran against May. I do not think my prospects individually are very flattering, for I think it probable I shall not be permitted to be a candidate; but the party ticket will succeed triumphantly. Subscriptions to the *Old Soldier* [1] pour in without abatement. This morning I took from the post-office a letter from Dubois inclosing the names of sixty subscribers; and on carrying it to Francis,[2] I found he had received one hundred and forty more from other quarters by the same day's mail. That is but an average specimen of every day's receipts. Yesterday Douglas, having chosen to consider himself insulted by some-

[1] A special campaign publication of the Whigs.
[2] Simeon Francis, editor of the *Sangamon Journal*.

thing in the *Journal*, undertook to cane Francis in the street. Francis caught him by the hair and jammed him back against a market-cart, where the matter ended by Francis being pulled away from him. The whole affair was so ludicrous that Francis and everybody else (Douglas excepted) have been laughing about it ever since.

I send you the names of some of the Van Buren men who have come out for Harrison about town, and suggest that you send them some documents. . . .

Speed says he wrote you what Jo. Smith said about you as he passed here. We will procure the names of some of his people here and send them to you before long. Speed also says you must not fail to send us the New York journal he wrote for some time since. Even Butler is jealous that you never send your compliments to him. You must not neglect him next time.

Your friend, as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, March 26, 1840.

Dear Stuart: . . .

We have had a convention for nominating candidates in this county. Baker was put on the track for the Senate, and Bradford, Brown of the Island Grove, Josiah Francis, Darneille, and I for the House. Ninian [1] was very much hurt at not being nominated, but he has become tolerably well reconciled. I was much, very much, wounded myself at his being left out. The fact is, the country delegates made the nominations as they pleased; and they pleased to make them all from the country, except Baker and me, whom

[1] Ninian W. Edwards, son of ex-Governor Edwards, and the "fidus Achates" of Lincoln.

they supposed necessary to make stump speeches. Old Colonel Elkin is nominated for sheriff. That's right.

The Locos have no candidates on the track yet except Dick Taylor for the Senate. Last Saturday he made a speech, and May answered him. The way May let the wind out of him was a perfect wonder. The court-room was very full, and neither you nor I ever saw a crowd in this county so near all on one side, and all feeling so good, before. You will see a short account of it in the *Journal.* A. Lincoln.

Japh Bell has come out for Harrison. Ain't that a caution?

Springfield, December 17, 1840.

Dear Stuart: McRoberts was elected senator yesterday. The vote stood: McRoberts, seventy-seven; Cyrus Edwards, fifty; E. D. Baker, one; absent, three. This affair of appointment to office is very annoying—more so to you than to me, doubtless. I am, as you know, opposed to removals to make places for our friends. Bearing this in mind, I express my preference in a few cases, as follows: For marshal, first, John Dawson; second, Dr. B. F. Edwards. For postmaster here, Dr. Henry; Carlinville, Joseph C. Howell. There is no question of the propriety of removing the postmaster at Carlinville. I have been told by so many different persons as to preclude all doubt of its truth, that he boldly refused to deliver from his office during the canvass all documents franked by Whig members of Congress. Yours, Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, January 23, 1841.

Dear Stuart: Yours of the 3d instant is received, and I proceed to answer it as well as I can, though from the deplorable state of my mind at this time, I fear I shall give you but little satisfaction. About the matter of the congressional election, I can only tell you that there is a bill now before the Senate adopting the general ticket system; but whether the party have fully determined on its adoption is yet uncertain. There is no sign of opposition to you among our friends, and none that I can learn among our enemies; though of course there will be if the general ticket be adopted. The *Chicago American, Peoria Register,* and *Sangamon Journal* have already hoisted your flag upon their own responsibility, and the other Whig papers of the district are expected to follow immediately. On last evening there was a meeting of our friends at Butler's, and I submitted the question to them, and found them unanimously in favor of having you announced as a candidate. A few of us this morning, however, concluded that as you were already being announced in the papers, we would delay announcing you, as by your own authority, for a week or two. We thought that to appear too keen about it might spur our opponents on about their general ticket project. Upon the whole, I think I may say with certainty that your reëlection is sure, if it be in the power of the Whigs to make it so.

For not giving you a general summary of news, you must pardon me; it is not in my power to do so. I am now the most miserable man living.[1]

[1] This was written shortly after Lincoln had broken his engagement to Miss Mary Todd.

If what I feel were equally distributed to the whole human family, there would not be one cheerful face on the earth. Whether I shall ever be better, I cannot tell; I awfully forebode I shall not. To remain as I am is impossible; I must die or be better, it appears to me. The matter you speak of on my account you may attend to as you say, unless you shall hear of my condition forbidding it. I say this because I fear I shall be unable to attend to any business here, and a change of scene might help me. If I could be myself, I would rather remain at home with Judge Logan. I can write no more.

Your friend, as ever, A. Lincoln.

W. G. Anderson.

Lawrenceville, October 31, 1840.

W. G. Anderson.

Dear Sir: Your note of yesterday is received. In the difficulty between us of which you speak, you say you think I was the aggressor. I do not think I was. You say my "words imported insult." I meant them as a fair set-off to your own statements, and not otherwise; and in that light alone I now wish you to understand them. You ask for my present "feelings on the subject." I entertain no unkind feelings to you, and none of any sort upon the subject, except a sincere regret that I permitted myself to get into such an altercation. Yours, etc., A. Lincoln.

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Joshua F. Speed.[1]

Springfield, June 19, 1841.

Dear Speed: We have had the highest state of excitement here for a week past that our community has ever witnessed; and although the public feeling is somewhat allayed, the curious affair which aroused it is very far from being even yet cleared of mystery. It would take a quire of paper to give you anything like a full account of it, and I therefore only propose a brief outline. The chief personages in the drama are Archibald Fisher, supposed to be murdered, and Archibald Trailor, Henry Trailor, and William Trailor, supposed to have murdered him. The three Trailors are brothers: the first, Arch., as you know, lives in town; the second, Henry, in Clary's Grove; and the third, William, in Warren County; and Fisher the supposed murdered man, being without a family, had made his home with William. On Saturday evening, being the 29th of May, Fisher and William came to Henry's in a one-horse dearborn, and there stayed over Sunday; and on Monday all three came to Springfield (Henry on horseback), and joined Archibald at Myers's, the Dutch carpenter. That evening at supper Fisher was missing, and so next morning some ineffectual search was made for him; and on Tuesday, at one o'clock p. m., William and Henry started home without him. In a day or two Henry and one or two of his Clary-Grove neighbors came back for him

[1] Speed was the closest friend Lincoln ever had. Their correspondence was very intimate; so much so that when William H. Herndon, biographer of Lincoln, sought to obtain his letters to Speed, they were yielded only with reluctance, and after a number of erasures had been made.

again, and advertised his disappearance in the papers. The knowledge of the matter thus far had not been general, and here it dropped entirely, till about the 10th instant, when Keys received a letter from the postmaster in Warren County, that William had arrived at home, and was telling a very mysterious and improbable story about the disappearance of Fisher, which induced the community there to suppose he had been disposed of unfairly. Keys made this letter public, which immediately set the whole town and adjoining county agog. And so it has continued until yesterday. The mass of the people commenced a systematic search for the dead body, while Wickersham was despatched to arrest Henry Trailor at the Grove, and Jim Maxcy to Warren to arrest William. On Monday last, Henry was brought in, and showed an evident inclination to insinuate that he knew Fisher to be dead, and that Arch. and William had killed him. He said he guessed the body could be found in Spring Creek, between the Beardstown road and Hickox's mill. Away the people swept like a herd of buffalo, and cut down Hickox's mill-dam *nolens volens*, to draw the water out of the pond, and then went up and down and down and up the creek, fishing and raking, and raking and ducking, and diving for two days, and, after all, no dead body found.

In the meantime a sort of scuffling-ground had been found in the brush in the angle, or point, where the road leading into the woods past the brewery and the one leading in past the brickyard meet. From the scuffle-ground was the sign of something about the size of a man having been dragged to the edge of the thicket, where

it joined the track of some small-wheeled carriage drawn by one horse, as shown by the road-tracks. The carriage-track led off toward Spring Creek. Near this drag-trail Dr. Merryman found two hairs, which, after a long scientific examination, he pronounced to be triangular human hair, which term, he says, includes within it the whiskers, the hair growing under the arms and on other parts of the body; and he judged that these two were of the whiskers, because the ends were cut, showing that they had flourished in the neighborhood of the razor's operations. On Thursday last Jim Maxcy brought in William Trailor from Warren. On the same day Arch. was arrested and put in jail. Yesterday (Friday) William was put upon his examining trial before May and Lovely. Archibald and Henry were both present. Lamborn prosecuted, and Logan, Baker, and your humble servant defended. A great many witnesses were introduced and examined, but I shall only mention those whose testimony seemed most important. The first of these was Captain Ransdell. He swore that when William and Henry left Springfield for home on Tuesday before mentioned, they did not take the direct route,—which, you know, leads by the butcher shop,—but that they followed the street north until they got opposite, or nearly opposite, May's new house, after which he could not see them from where he stood; and it was afterward proved that in about an hour after they started, they came into the street by the butcher shop from toward the brick-yard. Dr. Merryman and others swore to what is stated about the scuffle-ground, drag-trail, whiskers, and carriage-tracks. Henry was then introduced by

the prosecution. He swore that when they started for home, they went out north, as Ransdell stated, and turned down west by the brickyard into the woods, and there met Archibald; that they proceeded a small distance farther, when he was placed as a sentinel to watch for and announce the approach of any one that might happen that way; that William and Arch. took the dearborn out of the road a small distance to the edge of the thicket, where they stopped, and he saw them lift the body of a man into it; that they then moved off with the carriage in the direction of Hickox's mill, and he loitered about for something like an hour, when William returned with the carriage, but without Arch., and said they had put him in a safe place; that they went somehow—he did not know exactly how—into the road close to the brewery, and proceeded on to Clary's Grove. He also stated that some time during the day William told him that he and Arch. had killed Fisher the evening before; that the way they did it was by him (William) knocking him down with a club, and Arch. then choking him to death.

An old man from Warren, called Dr. Gilmore, was then introduced on the part of the defense. He swore that he had known Fisher for several years; that Fisher had resided at his house a long time at each of two different spells—once while he built a barn for him, and once while he was doctored for some chronic disease; that two or three years ago Fisher had a serious hurt in his head by the bursting of a gun, since which he had been subject to continued bad health and occasional aberration of mind. He also stated that on last Tuesday, being the same day that

Maxcy arrested William Trailor, he (the doctor) was from home in the early part of the day, and on his return, about eleven o'clock, found Fisher at his house in bed, and apparently very unwell; that he asked him how he came from Springfield; that Fisher said he had come by Peoria, and also told of several other places he had been at more in the direction of Peoria, which showed that he at the time of speaking did not know where he had been wandering about in a state of derangement. He further stated that in about two hours he received a note from one of Trailor's friends, advising him of his arrest, and requesting him to go on to Springfield as a witness, to testify as to the state of Fisher's health in former times; that he immediately set off, calling up two of his neighbors as company, and, riding all evening and all night, overtook Maxcy and William at Lewiston in Fulton County; that Maxcy refusing to discharge Trailor upon his statement, his two neighbors returned and he came on to Springfield. Some question being made as to whether the doctor's story was not a fabrication, several acquaintances of his (among whom was the same postmaster who wrote Keys, as before mentioned) were introduced as sort of compurgators, who swore that they knew the doctor to be of good character for truth and veracity, and generally of good character in every way. Here the testimony ended, and the Trailors were discharged, Arch. and William expressing both in word and manner their entire confidence that Fisher would be found alive at the doctor's by Galloway, Mallory, and Myers, who a day before had been despatched for that purpose; while Henry still

protested that no power on earth could ever show Fisher alive. Thus stands this curious affair. When the doctor's story was first made public, it was amusing to scan and contemplate the countenances and hear the remarks of those who had been actively in search for the dead body: some looked quizzical, some melancholy, and some furiously angry. Porter, who had been very active, swore he always knew the man was not dead, and that he had not stirred an inch to hunt for him; Langford, who had taken the lead in cutting down Hickox's mill-dam, and wanted to hang Hickox for objecting, looked most awfully woebegone: he seemed the "victim of unrequited affection," as represented in the comic almanacs we used to laugh over; and Hart, the little drayman that hauled Molly home once, said it was too *damned* bad to have so much trouble, and no hanging after all.

I commenced this letter on yesterday, since which I received yours of the 13th. I stick to my promise to come to Louisville. . . .

Yours forever, Lincoln.

January, 1842.

My dear Speed: Feeling, as you know I do, the deepest solicitude for the success of the enterprise you are engaged in, I adopt this as the last method I can adopt to aid you, in case (which God forbid!) you shall need any aid. I do not place what I am going to say on paper because I can say it better that way than I could by word of mouth, but, were I to say it orally before we part, most likely you would forget it at the very time when it might do you some good. As I think it reasonable that you will feel very

badly some time between this and the final consummation of your purpose, it is intended that you shall read this just at such a time. Why I say it is reasonable that you will feel very badly yet, is because of three special causes added to the general one which I shall mention.

The general cause is, that you are naturally of a nervous temperament; and this I say from what I have seen of you personally, and what you have told me concerning your mother at various times, and concerning your brother William at the time his wife died. The first special cause is your exposure to bad weather on your journey, which my experience clearly proves to be very severe on defective nerves. The second is the absence of all business and conversation of friends, which might divert your mind, give it occasional rest from the intensity of thought which will sometimes wear the sweetest idea threadbare and turn it to the bitterness of death. The third is the rapid and near approach of that crisis on which all your thoughts and feelings concentrate.

If from all these causes you shall escape and go through triumphantly, without another "twinge of the soul," I shall be most happily but most egregiously deceived. If, on the contrary, you shall, as I expect you will at some time, be agonized and distressed, let me, who have some reason to speak with judgment on such a subject, beseech you to ascribe it to the causes I have mentioned, and not to some false and ruinous suggestion of the Devil.

"But," you will say, "do not your causes apply to every one engaged in a like undertaking?" By no means. The particular causes, to a greater or less extent perhaps, do apply in all cases; but

the general one—nervous debility, which is the key and conductor of all the particular ones, and without which they would be utterly harmless, —though it does pertain to you, does not pertain to one in a thousand. It is out of this that the painful difference between you and the mass of the world springs.

I know what the painful point with you is at all times when you are unhappy; it is an apprehension that you do not love her as you should. What nonsense! How came you to court her? Was it because you thought she deserved it, and that you had given her reason to expect it? If it was for that, why did not the same reason make you court Ann Todd, and at least twenty others of whom you can think, and to whom it would apply with greater force than to her? Did you court her for her wealth? Why, you know she had none. But you say you reasoned yourself into it. What do you mean by that? Was it not that you found yourself unable to reason yourself out of it? Did you not think, and partly form the purpose, of courting her the first time you ever saw her or heard of her? What had reason to do with it at that early stage? There was nothing at that time for reason to work upon. Whether she was moral, amiable, sensible, or even of good character, you did not, nor could then know, except, perhaps, you might infer the last from the company you found her in.

All you then did or could know of her was her personal appearance and deportment; and these, if they impress at all, impress the heart, and not the head.

Say candidly, were not those heavenly black eyes the whole basis of all your early reasoning

on the subject? After you and I had once been at the residence, did you not go and take me all the way to Lexington and back, for no other purpose but to get to see her again, on our return on that evening to take a trip for that express object? What earthly consideration would you take to find her scouting and despising you, and giving herself up to another? But of this you have no apprehension; and therefore you cannot bring it home to your feelings.

I shall be so anxious about you that I shall want you to write by every mail.

Your friend, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, February 3, 1842.

Deer Speed: Your letter of the 25th January came to hand to-day. You well know that I do not feel my own sorrows much more keenly than I do yours, when I know of them; and yet I assure you I was not much hurt by what you wrote me of your excessively bad feeling at the time you wrote. Not that I am less capable of sympathizing with you now than ever, not that I am less your friend than ever, but because I hope and believe that your present anxiety and distress about her health and her life must and will forever banish those horrid doubts which I know you sometimes felt as to the truth of your affection for her. If they can once and forever be removed (and I almost feel a presentiment that the Almighty has sent your present affliction expressly for that object), surely nothing can come in their stead to fill their immeasurable measure of misery. The death-scenes of those we love are surely painful enough; but these we are prepared for and expect to see: they happen

to all, and all know they must happen. Painful as they are, they are not an unlooked-for sorrow. Should she, as you fear, be destined to an early grave, it is indeed a great consolation to know that she is so well prepared to meet it. Her religion, which you once disliked so much, I will venture you now prize most highly. But I hope your melancholy bodings as to her early death are not well founded. I even hope that ere this reaches you she will have returned with improved and still improving health, and that you will have met her, and forgotten the sorrows of the past in the enjoyments of the present. I would say more if I could, but it seems that I have said enough. It really appears to me that you yourself ought to rejoice, and not sorrow, at this indubitable evidence of your undying affection for her. Why, Speed, if you did not love her, although you might not wish her death, you would most certainly be resigned to it. Perhaps this point is no longer a question with you, and my pertinacious dwelling upon it is a rude intrusion upon your feelings. If so, you must pardon me. You know the hell I have suffered on that point, and how tender I am upon it. You know I do not mean wrong. I have been quite clear of "hypo" since you left; even better than I was along in the fall. I have seen —— but once. She seemed very cheerful, and so I said nothing to her about what we spoke of.

Old Uncle Billy Herndon is dead, and it is said this evening that Uncle Ben Ferguson will not live. This, I believe, is all the news, and enough at that unless it were better. Write me immediately on the receipt of this.

Your friend, as ever, Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, February 13, 1842.

Dear Speed: Yours of the 1st instant came to hand three or four days ago. When this shall reach you, you will have been Fanny's husband several days. You know my desire to befriend you is everlasting; that I will never cease while I know how to do anything. But you will always hereafter be on ground that I have never occupied, and consequently, if advice were needed, I might advise wrong. I do fondly hope, however, that you will never again need any comfort from abroad. But should I be mistaken in this, should excessive pleasure still be accompanied with a painful counterpart at times, still let me urge you, as I have ever done, to remember, in the depth and even agony of despondency, that very shortly you are to feel well again. I am now fully convinced that you love her as ardently as you are capable of loving. Your ever being happy in her presence, and your intense anxiety about her health, if there were nothing else, would place this beyond all dispute in my mind. I incline to think it probable that your nerves will fail you occasionally for a while; but once you get them firmly guarded now, that trouble is over forever. I think, if I were you, in case my mind were not exactly right, I would avoid being idle. I would immediately engage in some business, or go to making preparations for it, which would be the same thing. If you went through the ceremony calmly, or even with sufficient composure not to excite alarm in any present, you are safe beyond question, and in two or three months, to say the most, will be the happiest of men.

I would desire you to give my particular re-

spects to Fanny; but perhaps you will not wish her to know you have received this, lest she should desire to see it. Make her write me an answer to my last letter to her; at any rate, I would set great value upon a note or letter from her. Write me whenever you have leisure.

Yours forever, A. Lincoln.

P. S. I have been quite a man since you left.

Springfield, February 25, 1842.

Dear Speed: Yours of the 16th instant, announcing that Miss Fanny and you are "no more twain, but one flesh," reached me this morning. I have no way of telling you how much happiness I wish you both, though I believe you both can conceive it. I feel somewhat jealous of both of you now: you will be so exclusively concerned for one another, that I shall be forgotten entirely. My acquaintance with Miss Fanny (I call her this, lest you should think I am speaking of your mother) was too short for me to reasonably hope to long be remembered by her; and still I am sure I shall not forget her soon. Try if you cannot remind her of that debt she owes me—and be sure you do not interfere to prevent her paying it.

I regret to learn that you have resolved to not return to Illinois. I shall be very lonesome without you. How miserable things seem to be arranged in this world! If we have no friends, we have no pleasure; and if we have them, we are sure to lose them, and be doubly pained by the loss. I did hope she and you would make your home here; but I own I have no right to insist. You owe obligations to her ten thousand times more sacred than you can owe to others,

and in that light let them be respected and observed. It is natural that she should desire to remain with her relatives and friends. As to friends, however, she could not need them anywhere: she would have them in abundance here.

Give my kind remembrance to Mr. Williamson and his family, particularly Miss Elizabeth; also to your mother, brother, and sisters. Ask little Eliza Davis if she will ride to town with me if I come there again. And finally, give Fanny a double reciprocation of all the love she sent me. Write me often, and believe me

Yours forever, Lincoln.

P. S. Poor Easthouse is gone at last. He died awhile before day this morning. They say he was very loath to die. . . . L.

Springfield, February 25, 1842.

Dear Speed: I received yours of the 12th written the day you went down to William's place, some days since, but delayed answering it till I should receive the promised one of the 16th, which came last night. I opened the letter with intense anxiety and trepidation; so much so, that, although it turned out better than I expected, I have hardly yet, at a distance of ten hours, become calm.

I tell you, Speed, our forebodings (for which you and I are peculiar) are all the worst sort of nonsense. I fancied, from the time I received your letter of Saturday, that the one of Wednesday was never to come, and yet it *did* come, and what is more, it is perfectly clear, both from its tone and handwriting, that you were much happier, or, if you think the term preferable, less miserable, when you wrote it than when you

wrote the last one before. You had so obviously improved at the very time I so much fancied you would have grown worse. You say that something indescribably horrible and alarming still haunts you. You will not say that three months from now, I will venture. When your nerves once get steady now, the whole trouble will be over forever. Nor should you become impatient at their being even very slow in becoming steady. Again you say, you much fear that that Elysium of which you have dreamed so much is never to be realized. Well, if it shall not, I dare swear it will not be the fault of her who is now your wife. I now have no doubt that it is the peculiar misfortune of both you and me to dream dreams of Elysium far exceeding all that anything earthly can realize. Far short of your dreams as you may be, no woman could do more to realize them than that same black-eyed Fanny. If you could but contemplate her through my imagination, it would appear ridiculous to you that any one should for a moment think of being unhappy with her. My old father used to have a saying that "If you make a bad bargain, hug it all the tighter"; and it occurs to me that if the bargain you have just closed can possibly be called a bad one, it is certainly the most pleasant one for applying that maxim to which my fancy can by any effort picture.

I write another letter, inclosing this, which you can show her, if she desires it. I do this because she would think strangely, perhaps, should you tell her that you received no letters from me, or, telling her you do, refuse to let her see them. I close this, entertaining the confident hope that every successive letter I shall have

from you (which I here pray may not be few, nor far between) may show you possessing a more steady hand and cheerful heart than the last preceding it. As ever, your friend,

Lincoln.

Springfield, March 27, 1842.

Dear Speed: Yours of the 10th instant was received three or four days since. You know I am sincere when I tell you the pleasure its contents gave me was, and is, inexpressible. As to your farm matter, I have no sympathy with you. I have no farm, nor ever expect to have, and consequently have not studied the subject enough to be much interested with it. I can only say that I am glad you are satisfied and pleased with it. But on that other subject, to me of the most intense interest whether in joy or sorrow, I never had the power to withhold my sympathy from you. It cannot be told how it now thrills me with joy to hear you say you are "far happier than you ever expected to be." That much I know is enough. I know you too well to suppose your expectations were not, at least, sometimes extravagant, and if the reality exceeds them all, I say, Enough, dear Lord. I am not going beyond the truth when I tell you that the short space it took me to read your last letter gave me more pleasure than the total sum of all I have enjoyed since the fatal 1st of January, 1841.[1] Since then it seems to me I should have been entirely happy, but for the never-absent idea that there is one still unhappy whom I have contributed to make so. That still kills my soul. I

[1] When Lincoln failed to appear at his wedding set with Miss Mary Todd.

cannot but reproach myself for even wishing to be happy while she is otherwise. She accompanied a large party on the railroad cars to Jacksonville last Monday, and on her return spoke, so that I heard of it, of having enjoyed the trip exceedingly. God be praised for that.

You know with what sleepless vigilance I have watched you ever since the commencement of your affair; and although I am almost confident it is useless, I cannot forbear once more to say that I think it is even yet possible for your spirits to flag down and leave you miserable. If they should, don't fail to remember that they cannot long remain so. One thing I can tell you which I know you will be glad to hear, and that is that I have seen —— and scrutinized her feelings as well as I could, and am fully convinced she is far happier now than she has been for the last fifteen months past.

You will see by the last *Sangamon Journal* that I made a temperance speech on the 22d of February,[1] which I claim that Fanny and you shall read as an act of charity to me; for I cannot learn that anybody else has read it, or is likely to. Fortunately it is not very long, and I shall deem it a sufficient compliance with my request if one of you listens while the other reads it.

As to your Lockridge matter, it is only necessary to say that there has been no court since you left, and that the next commences to-morrow morning, during which I suppose we cannot fail to get a judgment.

I wish you would learn of Everett what he would take, over and above a discharge for all

[1] See Speeches.

the trouble we have been at, to take his business out of our hands and give it to somebody else. It is impossible to collect money on that or any other claim here now; and although you know I am not a very petulant man, I declare I am almost out of patience with Mr. Everett's importunity. It seems like he not only writes all the letters he can himself, but gets everybody else in Louisville and vicinity to be constantly writing to us about his claim. I have always said that Mr. Everett is a very clever fellow, and I am very sorry he cannot be obliged; but it does seem to me he ought to know we are interested to collect his claim, and therefore would do it if we could.

I am neither joking nor in a pet when I say we would thank him to transfer his business to some other, without any compensation for what we have done, provided he will see the court cost paid, for which we are security.

The sweet violet you inclosed came safely to hand, but it was so dry, and mashed so flat, that it crumbled to dust at the first attempt to handle it. The juice that mashed out of it stained a place in the letter, which I mean to preserve and cherish for the sake of her who procured it to be sent. My renewed good wishes to her in particular, and generally to all such of your relations who know me. As ever,

Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, July 4, 1842.

Dear Speed: Yours of the 16th June was received only a day or two since. It was not mailed at Louisville till the 25th. You speak of the great time that has elapsed since I wrote

you. Let me explain that. Your letter reached here a day or two after I had started on the circuit. I was gone five or six weeks, so that I got the letters only a few weeks before Butler started to your country. I thought it scarcely worth while to write you the news which he could and would tell you more in detail. On his return he told me you would write me soon, and so I waited for your letter. As to my having been displeased with your advice, surely you know better than that. I know you do, and therefore will not labor to convince you. True, that subject is painful to me; but it is not your silence, or the silence of all the world, that can make me forget it. I acknowledged the correctness of your advice too; but before I resolve to do the one thing or the other, I must gain my confidence in my own ability to keep my resolves when they are made. In that ability you know I once prided myself as the only or chief gem of my character; that gem I lost—how and where you know too well. I have not yet regained it; and until I do, I cannot trust myself in any matter of much importance. I believe now that had you understood my case at the time as well as I understood yours afterward, by the aid you would have given me I should have sailed through clear, but that does not now afford me sufficient confidence to begin that or the like of that again.

You make a kind acknowledgment of your obligations to me for your present happiness. I am pleased with that acknowledgment. But a thousand times more am I pleased to know that you enjoy a degree of happiness worthy of an acknowledgment. The truth is, I am not sure

that there was any merit with me in the part I took in your difficulty; I was drawn to it by a fate. If I would I could not have done less than I did. I always was superstitious; I believe God made me one of the instruments of bringing your Fanny and you together, which union I have no doubt he had fore-ordained. Whatever he designs he will do for me yet. "Stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord" is my text just now. If, as you say, you have told Fanny all, I should have no objection to her seeing this letter, but for its reference to our friend here: let her seeing it depend upon whether she has ever known anything of my affairs; and if she has not, do not let her.

I do not think I can come to Kentucky this season. I am so poor and make so little headway in the world, that I drop back in a month of idleness as much as I gain in a year's sowing. I should like to visit you again. I should like to see that "sis" of yours that was absent when I was there, though I suppose she would run away again if she were to hear I was coming.

. . . . .

My respects and esteem to all your friends there, and, by your permission, my love to your Fanny. Ever yours, Lincoln.

Springfield, October, 1842.

Dear Speed: You have heard of my duel with Shields, and I have now to inform you that the dueling business still rages in this city. Day before yesterday Shields challenged Butler, who accepted, and proposed fighting next morning at sunrise in Bob Allen's meadow, one hundred

yards' distance, with rifles. To this Whitesides, Shields's second, said "No," because of the law. Thus ended duel No. 2. Yesterday Whitesides chose to consider himself insulted by Dr. Merryman, so sent him a kind of quasi-challenge, inviting him to meet him at the Planter's House in St. Louis on the next Friday to settle their difficulty. Merryman made me his friend, and sent Whitesides a note, inquiring to know if he meant his note as a challenge, and if so, that he would, according to the law in such case made and provided, prescribe the terms of the meeting. Whitesides returned for answer that if Merryman would meet him at the Planter's House as desired, he would challenge him. Merryman replied in a note that he denied Whitesides's right to dictate time and place, but that he (Merryman) would waive the question of time, and meet him at Louisiana, Missouri. Upon my presenting this note to Whitesides and stating verbally its contents, he declined receiving it, saying he had business in St. Louis, and it was as near as Louisiana. Merryman then directed me to notify Whitesides that he should publish the correspondence between them, with such comments as he thought fit. This I did. Thus it stood at bedtime last night. This morning Whitesides, by his friend Shields, is praying for a new trial, on the ground that he was mistaken in Merryman's proposition to meet him at Louisiana, Missouri, thinking it was the State of Louisiana. This Merryman hoots at, and is preparing his publication; while the town is in a ferment, and a street fight somewhat anticipated.

But I began this letter not for what I have been writing, but to say something on that sub-

ject which you know to be of such infinite solicitude to me. The immense sufferings you endured from the first days of September till the middle of February you never tried to conceal from me, and I well understood. You have now been the husband of a lovely woman nearly eight months. That you are happier now than the day you married her I well know, for without you could not be living. But I have your word for it, too, and the returning elasticity of spirits which is manifested in your letters. But I want to ask a close question, "Are you now in feeling as well as judgment glad that you are married as you are?" From anybody but me this would be an impudent question, not to be tolerated; but I know you will pardon it in me. Please answer it quickly, as I am impatient to know. I have sent my love to your Fanny so often, I fear she is getting tired of it. However, I venture to tender it again.

Yours forever, Lincoln.

Springfield, March 24, 1843.

Dear Speed: . . . We had a meeting of the Whigs of the county here on last Monday to appoint delegates to a district convention; and Baker beat me, and got the delegation instructed to go for him. The meeting, in spite of my attempt to decline it, appointed me one of the delegates; so that in getting Baker the nomination I shall be fixed a good deal like a fellow who is made a groomsman to a man that has cut him out and is marrying his own dear "gal." About the prospects of your having a namesake at our town, can't say exactly yet.

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, May 18, 1843.

Dear Speed: Yours of the 9th instant is duly received, which I do not meet as a "bore," but as a most welcome visitor. I will answer the business part of it first. . . .

In relation to our Congress matter here, you were right in supposing I would support the nominee. Neither Baker nor I, however, is the man, but Hardin, so far as I can judge from present appearances. We shall have no split or trouble about the matter; all will be harmony. In relation to the "coming events" about which Butler wrote you, I had not heard one word before I got your letter; but I have so much confidence in the judgment of a Butler on such a subject that I incline to think there may be some reality in it. What day does Butler appoint? By the way, how do "events" of the same sort come on in your family? Are you possessing houses and lands, and oxen and asses, and men-servants and maid-servants, and begetting sons and daughters? We are not keeping house,[1] but boarding at the Globe Tavern, which is very well kept now by a widow lady of the name of Beck. Our room (the same that Dr. Wallace occupied there) and boarding only costs us four dollars a week. Ann Todd was married something more than a year since to a fellow by the name of Campbell, and who, Mary says, is pretty much of a "dunce," though he has a little money and property. They live in Boonville, Missouri, and have not been heard from lately enough for me to say anything about her health. I reckon it will scarcely be in our power to visit Kentucky this year. Besides poverty and the necessity of

[1] Lincoln married Mary Todd, November 4, 1842.

attending to business, those "coming events," I suspect, would be somewhat in the way. I most heartily wish you and your Fanny would not fail to come. Just let us know the time, and we will have a room provided for you at our house, and all be merry together for a while. Be sure to give my respects to your mother and family; assure her that if ever I come near her, I will not fail to call and see her. Mary joins in sending love to your Fanny and you.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, October 22, 1846.

Dear Speed: . . . You, no doubt, assign the suspension of our correspondence to the true philosophic cause; though it must be confessed by both of us that this is rather a cold reason for allowing a friendship such as ours to die out by degrees. I propose now that, upon receipt of this, you shall be considered in my debt, and under obligations to pay soon, and that neither shall remain long in arrears hereafter. Are you agreed?

Being elected to Congress, though I am very grateful to our friends for having done it, has not pleased me as much as I expected.

We have another boy, born the 10th of March.[1] He is very much such a child as Bob[2] was at his age, rather of a longer order. Bob is "short and low," and I expect always will be. He talks very plainly—almost as plainly as anybody. He is quite smart enough. I sometimes fear he is one of the little rare-ripe sort that are smarter

[1] Edward Baker Lincoln, named after Lincoln's friend Baker. He died in infancy.

[2] Robert Todd Lincoln, born August 1, 1843.

at about five than ever after. He has a great deal of that sort of mischief that is the offspring of such animal spirits. Since I began this letter, a messenger came to tell me Bob was lost; but by the time I reached the house his mother had found him and had him whipped, and by now, very likely he is run away again. Mary has read your letter, and wishes to be remembered to Mrs. Speed and you, in which I most sincerely join her. As ever yours, A. Lincoln.

February 20, 1849.

My dear Speed: . . . I am flattered to learn that Mr. Crittenden has any recollection of me which is not unfavorable; and for the manifestation of your kindness toward me I sincerely thank you. Still there is nothing about me to authorize me to think of a first-class office, and a second-class one would not compensate my being sneered at by others who want it for themselves. I believe that, so far as the Whigs in Congress are concerned, I could have the General Land Office almost by common consent; but then Sweet and Don Morrison and Browning and Cyrus Edwards all want it, and what is worse, while I think I could easily take it myself, I fear I shall have trouble to get it for any other man in Illinois. The reason is that McGaughey, an Indiana ex-member of Congress, is here after it, and being personally known, he will be hard to beat by any one who is not. . . .

Springfield, August 24, 1855.

Dear Speed: You know what a poor correspondent I am. Ever since I received your very agreeable letter of the 22d of May I have been

intending to write you an answer to it. You suggest that in political action, now, you and I would differ. I suppose we would; not quite as much, however, as you may think. You know I dislike slavery, and you fully admit the abstract wrong of it. So far there is no cause of difference. But you say that sooner than yield your legal right to the slave, especially at the bidding of those who are not themselves interested, you would see the Union dissolved. I am not aware that any one is bidding you yield that right; very certainly I am not. I leave that matter entirely to yourself. I also acknowledge your rights and my obligations under the Constitution in regard to your slaves. I confess I hate to see the poor creatures hunted down and caught and carried back to their stripes and unrequited toil; but I bite my lips and keep quiet. In 1841 you and I had together a tedious low-water trip on a steamboat from Louisville to St. Louis. You may remember, as I well do, that from Louisville to the mouth of the Ohio there were on board ten or a dozen slaves shackled together with irons. That sight was a continued torment to me, and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio or any other slave border. It is not fair for you to assume that I have no interest in a thing which has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable. You ought rather to appreciate how much the great body of the Northern people do crucify their feelings, in order to maintain their loyalty to the Constitution and the Union. I do oppose the extension of slavery because my judgment and feeling so prompt me, and I am under no obligations to the contrary. If for this you and I

must differ, differ we must. You say, if you were President, you would send an army and hang the leaders of the Missouri outrages upon the Kansas elections; still, if Kansas fairly votes herself a slave State she must be admitted, or the Union must be dissolved. But how if she votes herself a slave State unfairly, that is, by the very means for which you say you would hang men? Must she still be admitted, or the Union dissolved? That will be the phase of the question when it first becomes a practical one. In your assumption that there may be a fair decision of the slavery question in Kansas, I plainly see you and I would differ about the Nebraska law. I look upon that enactment not as a law, but as a violence from the beginning. It was conceived in violence, is maintained in violence, and is being executed in violence. I say it was conceived in violence, because the destruction of the Missouri Compromise, under the circumstances, was nothing less than violence. It was passed in violence, because it could not have passed at all but for the votes of many members in violence of the known will of their constituents. It is maintained in violence, because the elections since clearly demand its repeal; and the demand is openly disregarded.

You say men ought to be hung for the way they are executing the law; I say the way it is being executed is quite as good as any of its antecedents. It is being executed in the precise way which was intended from the first, else why does no Nebraska man express astonishment or condemnation? Poor Reeder [1] is the only public man who has been silly enough to believe that

[1] Andrew H. Reeder, Governor of Kansas.

anything like fairness was ever intended, and he has been bravely undeceived.

That Kansas will form a slave constitution, and with it will ask to be admitted into the Union, I take to be already a settled question, and so settled by the very means you so pointedly condemn. By every principle of law ever held by any court North or South, every negro taken to Kansas is free; yet, in utter disregard of this —in the spirit of violence merely—that beautiful legislature gravely passes a law to hang any man who shall venture to inform a negro of his legal rights. This is the subject and real object of the law. If, like Haman, they should hang upon the gallows of their own building, I shall not be among the mourners for their fate. In my humble sphere, I shall advocate the restoration of the Missouri Compromise so long as Kansas remains a Territory, and when, by all these foul means, it seeks to come into the Union as a slave State, I shall oppose it. I am very loath in any case to withhold my assent to the enjoyment of property acquired or located in good faith; but I do not admit that good faith in taking a negro to Kansas to be held in slavery is a probability with any man. Any man who has sense enough to be the controller of his own property has too much sense to misunderstand the outrageous character of the whole Nebraska business. But I digress. In my opposition to the admission of Kansas I shall have some company, but we may be beaten. If we are, I shall not on that account attempt to dissolve the Union. I think it probable, however, we shall be beaten. Standing as a unit among yourselves, you can, directly and indirectly, bribe enough of our men to carry

the day, as you could on the open proposition to establish a monarchy. Get hold of some man in the North whose position and ability is such that he can make the support of your measure, whatever it may be, a Democratic party necessity, and the thing is done. Apropos of this, let me tell you an anecdote. Douglas introduced the Nebraska bill in January. In February afterward there was a called session of the Illinois legislature. Of the one hundred members composing the two branches of that body, about seventy were Democrats. These latter held a caucus, in which the Nebraska bill was talked of, if not formally discussed. It was thereby discovered that just three, and no more, were in favor of the measure. In a day or two Douglas's orders came on to have resolutions passed approving the bill; and they were passed by large majorities!!! The truth of this is vouched for by a bolting Democratic member. The masses, too, Democratic as well as Whig, were even nearer unanimous against it; but, as soon as the party necessity of supporting it became apparent, the way the Democrats began to see the wisdom and justice of it was perfectly astonishing.

You say that if Kansas fairly votes herself a free State, as a Christian you will rejoice at it. All decent slaveholders talk that way, and I do not doubt their candor. But they never vote that way. Although in a private letter or conversation you will express your preference that Kansas shall be free, you would vote for no man for Congress who would say the same thing publicly. No such man could be elected from any district in a slave State. You think Stringfel-

low [1] and company ought to be hung; and yet at the next Presidential election you will vote for the exact type and representative of Stringfellow. The slave-breeders and slave-traders are a small, odious, and detested class among you; and yet in politics they dictate the course of all of you, and are as completely your masters as you are the master of your own negroes. You inquire where I now stand. That is a disputed point. I think I am a Whig; but others say there are no Whigs, and that I am an Abolitionist. When I was at Washington, I voted for the Wilmot Proviso as good as forty times; and I never heard of any one attempting to unwhig me for that. I now do no more than oppose the extension of slavery. I am not a Know-nothing; [2] that is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that "all men are created equal." We now practically read it "all men are created equal, except negroes." When the Know-nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except negroes and foreigners and Catholics." When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.

Mary will probably pass a day or two in Louis-

[1] J. H. Stringfellow, Speaker of the bogus Kansas Legislature.

[2] Popular name of the American, or anti-foreigners party. Its meetings were secret, and its members professed to "know nothing" of what was transacted therein.

ville in October. My kindest regards to Mrs. Speed. On the leading subject of this letter, I have more of her sympathy than I have of yours; and yet let me say I am

Your friend forever, A. Lincoln.

Harry Wilton.

Harry Wilton, late U. S. Marshal for the district of Illinois, had been charged with using his office for political effect, and he called upon Benjamin S. Edwards and Abraham Lincoln to examine his papers. On June 25, 1841, these signed a statement of the "naked facts" which they found in Marshal Wilton's papers, but "drew no conclusions from them."

Miss Mary Speed.

This letter was written by Lincoln after his return from a visit to his friend Joshua F. Speed, in Kentucky.

Bloomington, Ill., September 27, 1841.

Miss Mary Speed, Louisville, Ky.

My Friend: Having resolved to write to some of your mother's family, and not having the express permission of any one of them to do so, I have had some little difficulty in determining on which to inflict the task of reading what I now feel must be a most dull and silly letter; but when I remembered that you and I were something of cronies while I was at Farmington, and that while there I was under the necessity of shutting you up in a room to prevent your committing an assault and battery upon me, I instantly decided that you should be the devoted one. I assume that you have not heard from Joshua and myself since we left, because I think it doubtful whether he has written. You remem-

ber there was some uneasiness about Joshua's health when we left. That little indisposition of his turned out to be nothing serious, and it was pretty nearly forgotten when we reached Springfield. We got on board the steamboat *Lebanon* in the locks of the canal, about twelve o'clock m. of the day we left, and reached St. Louis the next Monday at 8 p. m. Nothing of interest happened during the passage, except the vexatious delays occasioned by the sand-bars be thought interesting. By the way, a fine example was presented on board the boat for contemplating the effect of condition upon human happiness. A gentleman had purchased twelve negroes in different parts of Kentucky, and was taking them to a farm in the South. They were chained six and six together. A small iron clevis was around the left wrist of each, and this fastened to the main chain by a shorter one, at a convenient distance from the others, so that the negroes were strung together precisely like so many fish upon a trot-line. In this condition they were being separated forever from the scenes of their childhood, their friends, their fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and many of them from their wives and children, and going into perpetual slavery, where the lash of the master is proverbially more ruthless and unrelenting than any other where; and yet amid all these distressing circumstances, as we would think them, they were the most cheerful and apparently happy creatures on board. One whose offense for which he had been sold was an overfondness for his wife, played the fiddle almost continually, and the others danced, sang, cracked jokes, and played various games with cards from

day to day. How true it is that "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," or in other words, that he renders the worst of human conditions tolerable, while he permits the best to be nothing better than tolerable. To return to the narrative. When we reached Springfield, I stayed but one day, when I started on this tedious circuit where I now am. Do you remember my going to the city, while I was in Kentucky, to have a tooth extracted, and making a failure of it? Well, that same old tooth got to paining me so much that about a week since I had it torn out, bringing with it a bit of the jaw-bone, the consequence of which is that my mouth is now so sore that I can neither talk nor eat.

I am literally "subsisting on savory remembrances"—that is, being unable to eat, I am living upon the remembrance of the delicious dishes of peaches and cream we used to have at your house. When we left, Miss Fanny Henning was owing you a visit, as I understood. Has she paid it yet? If she has, are you not convinced that she is one of the sweetest girls in the world? There is but one thing about her, so far as I could perceive, that I would have otherwise than as it is—that is, something of a tendency to melancholy. This, let it be observed, is a misfortune, not a fault.

Give her an assurance of my very highest regard when you see her. Is little Siss Eliza Davis at your house yet? If she is, kiss her "o'er and o'er again" for me.

Tell your mother that I have not got her "present" [*an "Oxford" Bible*] with me, but I intend to read it regularly when I return home. I doubt not that it is really, as she says, the best cure for

the blues, could one but take it according to the truth. Give my respects to all your sisters (including Aunt Emma) and brothers. Tell Mrs. Peay, of whose happy face I shall long retain a pleasant remembrance, that I have been trying to think of a name for her homestead, but as yet cannot satisfy myself with one. I shall be very happy to receive a line from you soon after you receive this, and in case you choose to favor me with one, address it to Charleston, Coles County, Ill., as I shall be there about the time to receive it. Your sincere friend,

A. Lincoln.

G. B. Sheledy.

On February 16, 1842, Lincoln wrote from Springfield, Ill., to a lawyer, G. B. Sheledy, Esq., promising that the firm of Logan and Lincoln would attend to certain of his cases. Lincoln states that the fees of the firm will be as follows:

We are willing to attend each case you prepare and send us for $10 (when there shall be no opposition) to be sent in advance, or you know that it is safe. It takes $5.75 of cost to start upon, that is, $1.75 to clerk, and $2 to each of two publishers of papers. Judge Logan thinks it will take the balance of $20 to carry a case through. This must be advanced from time to time as the services are performed, as the officers will not act without.

George E. Pickett.

[*Extracts from "Pickett and His Men."*]

George E. Pickett, the Confederate general who led the famous charge at Gettysburg, while the son of a

Virginian, was appointed to West Point from Illinois. While he was preparing to enter the Military Academy he received this letter of fatherly advice from Lincoln.

February 22, 1842.

To George E. Pickett.

. . . . .

I never encourage deceit, and falsehood, especially if you have got a bad memory, is the *worst* enemy a fellow can have. The fact is truth is your truest friend, no matter what the circumstances are. Notwithstanding this copy-book preamble, my boy, I am inclined to suggest a *little prudence* on your part. You see I have a congenital aversion to failure, and the sudden announcement to your Uncle Andrew of the success of your "lamp-rubbing" might possibly prevent your passing the severe *physical* examination to which you will be subjected in order to enter the Military Academy. You see, I should like to have a perfect soldier credited to dear old Illinois—no broken bones, scalp wounds, etc. So I think perhaps it might be wise to hand this letter from me, in to your good uncle through his room-window *after* he has had a *comfortable dinner*, and watch its effect from the top of the pigeon-house.

. . . . .

I have just told the folks here in Springfield on this 111th anniversary of the birth of him whose name, mightiest in the cause of civil liberty, still mightiest in the cause of moral reformation, we mention in solemn awe, in naked, deathless splendor, that the one victory we can ever call complete will be that one which proclaims that there is not one slave or one drunk-

ard on the face of God's green earth. Recruit for this victory.

. . . . .

Now, boy, on your march, don't you go and forget the old maxim that "one drop of honey catches more flies than a half-gallon of gall." Load your musket with this maxim, and smoke it in your pipe.

The Lincoln-Shields "Duel."

For the story of Lincoln's projected duel with Shields see biography.

Lost Townships, August 27, 1842.

Dear Mr. Printer: I see you printed that long letter I sent you a spell ago. I'm quite encouraged by it, and can't keep from writing again. I think the printing of my letters will be a good thing all round—it will give me the benefit of being known by the world, and give the world the advantage of knowing what's going on in the Lost Townships, and give your paper respectability besides. So here comes another. Yesterday afternoon I hurried through cleaning up the dinner dishes and stepped over to Neighbor S—— to see if his wife Peggy was as well as mout be expected, and hear what they called the baby. Well, when I got there and just turned round the corner of his log cabin, there he was, setting on the doorstep and reading a newspaper. "How are you, Jeff?" says I. He sorter started when he heard me, for he hadn't seen me before. "Why," says he, "I'm mad as the devil, Aunt 'Becca!" "What about," says I; "ain't its hair the right color? None of that nonsense, Jeff;

there ain't an honester woman in the Lost Townships than—" "Than who?" says he; "what the mischief are you about?" I began to see I was running the wrong trail, and so says I, "Oh! nothing: I guess I was mistaken a little, that's all. But what is it you're mad about?"

"Why," says he, "I've been tugging ever since harvest—getting out wheat and hauling it to the river to raise State Bank paper enough to pay my tax this year and a little school debt I owe; and now, just as I've got it, here I open this infernal Extra *Register*, expecting to find it full of 'Glorious Democratic Victories' and 'High Comb'd Cocks,' when, lo and behold! I find a set of fellows calling themselves officers of the State, have forbidden the tax collectors and school commissioners to receive State paper at all; and so here it is dead on my hands. I don't now believe all the plunder I've got will fetch ready cash enough to pay my taxes and that school debt."

I was a good deal thunderstruck myself; for that was the first I had heard of the proclamation, and my old man was pretty much in the same fix with Jeff. We both stood a moment staring at one another without knowing what to say. At last says I, "Mr. S——, let me look at that paper." He handed it to me, when I read the proclamation over.

"There now," says he, "did you ever see such a piece of impudence and imposition as that?" I saw Jeff was in a good tune for saying some ill-natured things, and so I tho't I would just argue a little on the contrary side, and make him rant a spell if I could. "Why," says I, looking as dignified and thoughtful as I could,

"it seems pretty tough, to be sure, to have to raise silver where there's none to be raised; but then, you see, 'there will be danger of loss' if it ain't done." "Loss! damnation!" says he; "I defy Daniel Webster, I defy King Solomon, I defy the world—I defy—I defy—yes, I defy even you, Aunt 'Becca, to show how the people can lose anything by paying their taxes in State paper."

"Well," says I, "you see what the officers of State say about it, and they are a desarnin' set of men. But," says I, "I guess you're mistaken about what the proclamation says. It don't say the people will lose anything by the paper money being taken for taxes. It only says 'there will be danger of loss'; and though it is tolerable plain that the people can't lose by paying their taxes in something they can get easier than silver, instead of having to pay silver; and though it's just as plain that the State can't lose by taking State Bank paper, however low it may be, while she owes the bank more than the whole revenue, and can pay that paper over on her debt, dollar for dollar—still there is danger of loss to the officers of State; and you know, Jeff, we can't get along without officers of State."

"Damn officers of State!" says he. Says I, "You know I belong to the meetin', and swearin' hurts my feelings."

"Beg pardon, Aunt 'Becca," says he; "but I do say it's enough to make Dr. Goddard swear, to have tax to pay in silver, for nothing only that Ford may get his two thousand a year, and Shields his twenty-four hundred a year, and Carpenter his sixteen hundred a year, and all without 'danger of loss' by taking it in State paper.

Yes, yes; it's plain enough now what these officers of State mean by 'danger of loss.' Wash, I s'pose, actually lost fifteen hundred dollars out of the three thousand that two of these 'officers of State' let him steal from the treasury, by being compelled to take it in State paper. Wonder if we don't have a proclamation before long, commanding us to make up this loss to Wash in silver."

And so he went on till his breath ran out and he had to stop. I couldn't think of anything to say just then, and so I begun to look over the paper again. "Ay! here's another proclamation, or something like it."

"Another?" says Jeff, "one of them same three fellows again. Well, read it, and let's hear what of it."

I read on till I came to where it says, "The object of this measure is to suspend the collection of the revenue for the current year."

"Now stop, now stop!" says he; "that's a lie a'ready and I don't want to hear of it."

"Oh! maybe not," says I.

"I say it—is—a—lie. Suspend the collection, indeed! Will the collectors, that have taken their oaths to make the collection, dare to suspend it? Is there anything in law requiring them to perjure themselves at the bidding of James Shields?

"Will the greedy gullet of the penitentiary be satisfied with swallowing him instead of all of them, if they should venture to obey him? And would he not discover some 'danger of loss,' and be off about the time it came to taking their places?

"And suppose the people attempt to suspend,

by refusing to pay; what then? The collectors would just jerk up their horses and cows, and the like, and sell them to the highest bidder for silver in hand, without valuation or redemption. Why, Shields didn't believe that story himself—it was never meant for the truth. If it was true, why was it not writ till five days after the proclamation? Why didn't Carlin and Carpenter sign it as well as Shields? Answer me that, Aunt 'Becca. I say it's a lie, and not a well told one at that. It grins out like a copper dollar. Shields is a fool as well as a liar. With him truth is out of the question; and as for getting a good, bright, passable lie out of him, you might as well try to strike fire from a cake of tallow. I stick to it, it's all an infernal Whig lie!"

"A Whig lie! Highty tighty!"

"Yes, a Whig lie; and it's just like everything the cursed British Whigs do. First they'll do some devilment and then they'll tell a lie to hide it. And they don't care how plain a lie it is: they think they can cram any sort of a one down the throats of the ignorant Locofocos, as they call the Democrats."

"Why, Jeff, you're crazy; you don't mean to say Shields is a Whig?"

"Yes, I do."

"Why, look here! the proclamation is in your own Democratic paper as you call it."

"I know it; and what of that? They only printed it to let us Democrats see the deviltry the Whigs are at."

"Well, but Shields is the Auditor of this Loco —I mean, this Democratic State."

"So he is, and Tyler appointed him to office."

"Tyler appointed him?"

"Yes (if you must chaw it over), Tyler appointed him; or, if it wasn't him, it was old Granny Harrison, and that's all one. I tell you, Aunt 'Becca, there's no mistake about his being a Whig. Why, his very looks show it: if I was deaf and blind, I could tell him by the smell. I seed him when I was down in Springfield last Winter. They had a sort of gatherin' there one night among the grandees, they called a fair. All the gals about town was there, and all the handsome widows and married women, finickin' about trying to look like gals, tied as tight in the middle, and puffed out at both ends, like bundles of fodder that hadn't been stacked yet, but wanted stackin' pretty bad. And then they had tables all around the house kivered over with [ ] caps and pincushions and ten thousand such little knickknacks, tryin' to sell 'em to the fellows that were bowin' and scrapin' and kungeerin' about 'em. They wouldn't let no Democrats in, for fear they'd disgust the ladies, or scare the little gals, or dirty the floor. I looked in at the window, and there was the same fellow Shields floatin' about on the air, without heft or earthly substances, just like a lot of cat-fur where cats had been fighting.

"He was paying his money to this one, and that one, and t'other one, and sufferin' great loss because it wasn't silver instead of State paper; and the sweet distress he seemed to be in,—his very features, in the ecstatic agony of his soul, spoke audibly and distinctly, 'Dear girls, it is distressing, but I cannot marry you all. Too well I know how much you suffer; but do, do remember, it is not my fault that I am so handsome and so interesting.'

"As this last was expressed by a most exquisite contortion of his face, he seized hold of one of their hands, and squeezed, and held on to it about a quarter of an hour. 'Oh, my good fellow!' says I to myself, 'if that was one of our Democratic gals in the Lost Townships, the way you'd get a brass pin let into you would be about up to the head.' He a Democrat! Fiddlesticks! I tell you, Aunt 'Becca, he's a Whig, and no mistake: nobody but a Whig could make such a conceity dunce of himself."

"Well," says I, "maybe he is; but, if he is, I'm mistaken the worst sort. Maybe so, maybe so; but, if I am, I'll suffer by it; I'll be a Democrat if it turns out that Shields is a Whig, considerin' you shall be a Whig if he turns out a Democrat."

"A bargain, by jingoes!" says he; "but how will we find out?"

"Why," says I, "we'll just write and ax the printer."

"Agreed again!" says he; "and by thunder! if it does turn out that Shields is a Democrat, I never will——"

"Jefferson! Jefferson!"

"What do you want, Peggy?"

"Do get through your everlasting clatter some time, and bring me a gourd of water; the child's been crying for a drink this livelong hour."

"Let it die, then; it may as well die for water as to be taxed to death to fatten officers of State."

Jeff ran off to get the water, though, just like he hadn't been saying spiteful, for he's a real good-hearted fellow, after all, once you get at the foundation of him.

I walked into the house, and, "Why, Peggy," says I, "I declare we like to forgot you altogether."

"Oh, yes," says she, "when a body can't help themselves, everybody soon forgets 'em; but, thank God! by day after tomorrow I shall be well enough to milk the cows, and pen the calves, and wring the contrary ones' tails for 'em, and no thanks to nobody."

"Good evening, Peggy," says I, and so I sloped, for I see she was mad at me for making Jeff neglect her so long.

And now, Mr. Printer, will you be sure to let us know in your next paper whether this Shields is a Whig or a Democrat? I don't care about it for myself, for I know well enough how it is already; but I want to convince Jeff. It may do some good to let him, and others like him, know who and what these officers of State are. It may help to send the present hypocritical set to where they belong, and to fill the places they now disgrace, with men who will do more work for less pay, and take a fewer airs while they are doing it. It ain't sensible to think that the same men who get us into trouble will change their course; and yet it's pretty plain if some change for the better is not made, it's not long that either Peggy or any of us will have a cow left to milk, or a calf's tail to wring.

Yours truly, Rebecca ——.

Tremont, September 17, 1842.

A. Lincoln, Esq.: I regret that my absence on public business compelled me to postpone a matter of private consideration a little longer than I could have desired. It will only be necessary, however, to account for it by informing you that I have been to Quincy on business that would not admit of delay. I will now state briefly

the reasons of my troubling you with this communication, the disagreeable nature of which I regret, as I had hoped to avoid any difficulty with any one in Springfield while residing there, by endeavoring to conduct myself in such a way amongst both my political friends and opponents as to escape the necessity of any. Whilst thus abstaining from giving provocation, I have become the object of slander, vituperation, and personal abuse, which, were I capable of submitting to, I would prove myself worthy of the whole of it.

In two or three of the last numbers of the *Sangamon Journal,* articles of the most personal nature and calculated to degrade me have made their appearance. On inquiring, I was informed by the editor of that paper, through the medium of my friend General Whitesides, that you are the author of those articles. This information satisfies me that I have become by some means or other the object of your secret hostility. I will not take the trouble of inquiring into the reason of all this; but I will take the liberty of requiring a full, positive, and absolute retraction of all offensive allusions used by you in these communications, in relation to my private character and standing as a man, as an apology for the insults conveyed in them.

This may prevent consequences which no one will regret more than myself.

Your obedient servant,
Jas. Shields.

Tremont, September 17, 1842.

Jas. Shields, Esq.: Your note of to-day was handed me by General Whitesides. In that note you say you have been informed, through the medium of the editor of the *Journal,* that I am the author of certain articles in that paper which you deem personally abusive of you; and without stopping to inquire whether I really am the author, or to point out what is offensive in them, you demand an unqualified retraction of all that is offensive, and then proceed to hint at consequences.

Now, sir, there is in this so much assumption of facts and so much of menace as to consequences, that I cannot submit to answer that note any further than I have, and to add that the consequences to which I suppose you allude would be matter of as great regret to me as it possibly could to you.

Respectfully, A. Lincoln.

Tremont, September 17, 1842.

A. Lincoln, Esq.: In reply to my note of this date, you intimate that I assume facts and menace consequences, and that you cannot submit to answer it further. As now, sir, you desire it, I will be a little more particular. The editor of the *Sangamon Journal* gave me to understand that you are the author of an article which appeared, I think, in that paper of the 2d September instant, headed "The Lost Townships," and signed Rebecca or 'Becca. I would therefore take the liberty of asking whether you are the author of said article, or any other over the same signature which has appeared in any of the late numbers of that paper. If so, I repeat my request of an absolute retraction of all offensive allusion contained therein in relation to my private character and standing. If you are not the author of any of these articles, your denial will be sufficient. I will say further, it is not my intention to menace, but to do myself justice.

Your obedient servant, Jas. Shields.

Memorandum of Instructions to E. H. Merryman, Lincoln's Second.

In case Whitesides shall signify a wish to adjust this affair without further difficulty, let him know that if the present papers be withdrawn, and a note from Mr. Shields asking to know if I am the author of the articles of which he complains, and asking that I shall make him gentlemanly satisfaction if I am the author, and this

without menace, or dictation as to what that satisfaction shall be, a pledge is made that the following answer shall be given:

"I did write the 'Lost Townships' letter which appeared in the *Journal* of the 2d instant, but had no participation in any form in any other article alluding to you. I wrote that wholly for political effect—I had no intention of injuring your personal or private character or standing as a man or a gentleman; and I did not then think, and do not now think, that that article could produce or has produced that effect against you; and had I anticipated such an effect I would have forborne to write it. And I will add that your conduct toward me, so far as I know, had always been gentlemanly; and that I had no personal pique against you, and no cause for any."

If this should be done, I leave it with you to arrange what shall and what shall not be published. If nothing like this is done, the preliminaries of the fight are to be—

First. Weapons: Cavalry broadswords of the largest size, precisely equal in all respects, and such as now used by the cavalry company at Jacksonville.

Second. Position: A plank ten feet long, and from nine to twelve inches broad, to be firmly fixed on edge, on the ground, as the line between us, which neither is to pass his foot over upon forfeit of his life. Next a line drawn on the ground on either side of said plank and parallel with it, each at the distance of the whole length of the sword and three feet additional from the plank; and the passing of his own such line by either party during the fight shall be deemed a surrender of the contest.

Third. Time: On Thursday evening at five o'clock, if you can get it so; but in no case to be at a greater distance of time than Friday evening at five o'clock.

Fourth. Place: Within three miles of Alton, on the opposite side of the river, the particular spot to be agreed on by you.

Any preliminary details coming within the above rules you are at liberty to make at your discretion; but you are in no case to swerve from these rules, or to pass beyond their limits.

September 19, 1842.

See also letter to Joshua F. Speed, of October, 1842, and letter to John J. Hardin, of May 11, 1843.

Henry Clay.

On August 29, 1842, with eight other members of the "Clay Club," composing its executive committee, Lincoln signed an invitation to Henry Clay to come on to Springfield upon the occasion of his proposed visit to Indianapolis on October 5, 1842. Mr. Clay declined the invitation. It is highly probable that Lincoln was responsible for drafting the invitation, as such tasks were usually assigned to him when upon committees. It reads as follows:

We are aware of the toil necessarily incident to a journey by one circumstanced as you are; but once you have embarked, as you have already determined to do, the toil would not be greatly augmented by extending the journey to our capital. The season of the year will be most favorable for good roads and pleasant weather; and although we cannot but believe you would be highly gratified with such a visit to the prairie-land, the pleasure it would give us, and thousands such as we, is beyond all question. You

have never visited Illinois, or at least this portion of it; and should you now yield to our request, we promise you such a reception as shall be worthy of the man on whom are now turned the fondest hopes of a great and suffering nation.

MARTIN M. MORRIS.

This correspondence relates to Lincoln's unsuccessful rivalry with Edward D. Baker for the Whig support for Congress in the contest in which John J. Hardin was elected. (See correspondence with Hardin.)

Springfield, Illinois, March 26, 1843.

Friend Morris: Your letter of the 23d was received on yesterday morning, and for which (instead of an excuse, which you thought proper to ask) I tender you my sincere thanks. It is truly gratifying to me to learn that while the people of Sangamon have cast me off, my old friends of Menard, who have known me longest and best, stick to me. It would astonish, if not amuse, the older citizens to learn that I (a stranger, friendless, uneducated, penniless boy, working on a flatboat at ten dollars per month) have been put down here as the candidate of pride, wealth and aristocratic family distinction. Yet so, chiefly, it was. There was, too, the strangest combination of church influence against me. Baker is a Campbellite, and therefore, as I suppose, with few exceptions got all that church. My wife has some relations in the Presbyterian churches, and some with the Episcopal churches; and therefore, wherever it would tell, I was set down as either the one or the other, while it was everywhere contended that no Christian ought to go for me, because I belonged to no church, was

suspected of being a deist, and had talked about fighting a duel. With all these things, Baker, of course, had nothing to do. Nor do I complain of them. As to his own church going for him, I think that was right enough, and as to the influences I have spoken of in the other, though they were very strong, it would be grossly untrue and unjust to charge that they acted upon them in a body, or were very near so. I only mean that those influences levied a tax of a considerable per cent. upon my strength throughout the religious controversy. But enough of this.

You say that in choosing a candidate for Congress you have an equal right with Sangamon, and in this you are undoubtedly correct. In agreeing to withdraw if the Whigs of Sangamon should go against me, I did not mean that they alone were worth consulting, but that if she, with her heavy delegation, should be against me, it would be impossible for me to succeed, and therefore I had as well decline. And in relation to Menard having rights, permit me fully to recognize them, and to express the opinion, that if she and Mason act circumspectly, they will in the convention be able so far to enforce their rights as to decide absolutely which one of the candidates shall be successful. Let me show the reason of this. Hardin, or some other Morgan candidate, will get Putnam, Marshall, Woodford, Tazewell and Logan—making sixteen. Then you and Mason, having three, can give the victory to either side.

You say you shall instruct your delegates for me, unless I object. I certainly shall not object. That would be too pleasant a compliment for me

to tread in the dust. And besides, if anything should happen (which, however, is not probable) by which Baker should be thrown out of the fight, I would be at liberty to accept the nomination if I could get it. I do, however, feel myself bound not to hinder him in any way from getting the nomination. I should despise myself were I to attempt it. I think, then, it would be proper for your meeting to appoint three delegates, and to instruct them to go for some one as a first choice, some one else as a second, and perhaps some one as a third; and if in those instructions I were named as the first choice, it would gratify me very much. If you wish to hold the balance of power, it is important for you to attend to and secure the vote of Mason also. You should be sure to have men appointed delegates that you know you can safely confide in. If yourself and James Short were appointed from your county, all would be safe; but whether Jim's woman affair a year ago might not be in the way of his appointment is a question. I don't know whether you know it, but I know him to be as honorable a man as there is in the world. You have my permission, and even request, to show this letter to Short; but to no one else, unless it be a very particular friend, who you know will not speak of it.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

P. S.—Will you write me again?

To Martin M. Morris, Petersburg, Illinois.

April 14, 1843.

Friend Morris: I have heard it intimated that Baker has been attempting to get you or Miles,

or both of you, to violate the instructions of the meeting that appointed you, and to go for him. I have insisted, and still insist, that this cannot be true. Surely Baker would not do the like. As well might Hardin ask me to vote for him in the convention. Again, it is said there will be an attempt to get up instructions to your county requiring you to go for Baker. This is all wrong. Upon the same rule, why might not I fly from the decision against me in Sangamon, and get up instructions to their delegates to go for me? There are at least 1,200 Whigs in the county that took no part, and yet I would as soon put my head in the fire as to attempt it. Besides, if any one should get the nomination by such extraordinary means, all harmony in the district would inevitably be lost. Honest Whigs (and very nearly all of them are honest) would not quietly abide such enormities. I repeat, such an attempt on Baker's part cannot be true. Write me at Springfield how the matter is. Don't show or speak of this letter. A. Lincoln.

John J. Hardin.

John J. Hardin was a lawyer of Jacksonville, Ill., and a member of the State legislature from 1836 to 1842. He was elected to Congress in 1843, and served one term. He volunteered his services in the Mexican War, was appointed colonel of the 1st Illinois regiment, and was killed leading a charge in the battle of Buena Vista.

Springfield, May 11, 1843.

Friend Hardin: Butler informs me that he received a letter from you, in which you expressed some doubt whether the Whigs of Sangamon will support you cordially—You may, at once,

dismiss all fears on that subject—We have already resolved to make a particular effort to give you the very largest majority possible in our county—From this, no Whig of the county dissents—We have many objects for doing it. We make it a matter of honor and pride to do it; we do it, because we love the Whig cause; we do it, because we like you personally; and last, we wish to convince you, that we do not bear that hatred to Morgan county, that you people have so long seemed to imagine. You will see by the journal of this week, that we propose, upon pain of losing a Barbecue, to give you twice as great a majority in this county as you shall receive in your own. I got up the proposal.

Who of the five appointed, is to write the District address? I did the labor of writing one address this year; and got thunder for my reward. Nothing new here.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

P. S.—I wish you would measure one of the largest of those swords, we took to Alton, and write me the length of it, from tip of the point to tip of the hilt, in feet and inches. I have a dispute about the length.[1]

Springfield, May 21, 1844.

Dear Hardin: Knowing that you have correspondents enough, I have forborne to trouble you heretofore; and I now only do so, to get you to set a matter right which has got wrong with one of our best friends. It is old uncle Thomas Campbell of Spring Creek—(Berlin P. O.). He has received several documents from

[1] See correspondence with James Shields.

you, and he says they are old newspapers and documents, having no sort of interest in them. He is, therefore, getting a strong impression that you treat him with disrespect. This, I know, is a mistaken impression; and you must correct it. The way, I leave to yourself. Robert W. Canfield says he would like to have a document or two from you.

The Locos here are in considerable trouble about Van Buren's letter on Texas, and the Virginia electors. They are growing sick of the Tariff question; and consequently are much confounded at V. B.'s cutting them off from the new Texas question. Nearly half the leaders swear they won't stand it. Of those are Ford, T. Campbell, Ewing, Calhoun and others. They don't exactly say they won't vote for V. B., but they say he will not be the candidate, and that *they* are for Texas anyhow. As ever yours,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, January 19, 1845.

To General John J. Hardin.

Dear General: I do not wish to join in your proposal of a new plan for the selection of a Whig candidate for Congress, because—

1st. I am entirely satisfied with the old system under which you and Baker were successively nominated and elected to Congress; and because the Whigs of the district are well acquainted with the system, and so far as I know or believe, are well satisfied with it. If the old system be thought to be vague, as to all the delegates of the county voting the same way; or as to instructions to them as to whom they are to vote for; or as to filling vacancies—I am willing

to join in a provision to make these matters certain.

2nd. As to your proposals that a poll shall be opened in *every* precinct, and that the whole shall take place on the *same* day, I do not personally object. They seem to me to be not unfair; and I forbear to join in proposing them, only because I choose to leave the decision in each county to the Whigs of the county, to be made as their own judgment and convenience may dictate.

3rd. As to your proposed stipulation that all the candidates shall remain in their own counties, and restrain their friends in the same—it seems to me that on reflection you will see the fact of your having been in Congress has, in various ways, so spread your name in the district as to give you a decided advantage in such a stipulation. I appreciate your desire to keep down excitement; and I promise you "keep cool" under all circumstances.

4th. I have already said I am satisfied with the old system under which such good men have triumphed, and that I desire no departure from its principles. But if there must be a departure from it, I shall insist upon a more accurate and just apportionment of delegates, or representative votes, to the constituent body, than exists by the old; and which you propose to retain in your new plan.

[Here Mr. Lincoln gives statistics showing discrepancies of old apportionment.]

And so on in a less degree the matter runs through all the counties, being not only wrong in principle, but the advantage of it being all

manifestly in your favor with one slight exception, in the comparison of two counties not here mentioned.

Again, if we take the Whig votes of the counties as shown by the late Presidential election as a basis, the thing is still worse.

[Illustrated by statistics.]

It seems to me most obvious that the old system needs adjustment in nothing so much as in this; and still, by your proposal, no notice is taken of it. I have always been in the habit of acceding to almost any proposal that a friend would make, and I am truly sorry that I cannot in this. I perhaps ought to mention that some friends at different places are endeavoring to secure the honor of the sitting of the convention at their towns respectively, and I fear that they would not feel much complimented if we shall make a bargain that it should sit nowhere.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

See also correspondence with B. F. James, Robert Boal, and James Berdan.

Charles Dresser.

On January 16, 1844, Charles Dresser and Abraham Lincoln signed a memorandum of Dresser's promise to convey his residence and premises in Springfield, Ill., to Lincoln on or before April 1, 1845, "—for which said Lincoln . . . is to pay to said Dresser twelve hundred dollars, or what said Dresser shall then at his option, accept as equivalent thereto," and also to convey to Dresser premises near the Public Square, occupied by a shop, and owned by Logan and Lincoln.

—— Williams.

On March 1, 1845, Lincoln wrote a letter from Springfield to "Friend Williams," a lawyer, upon legal business. At the close of the letter he remarked: "The canal men have got their measure through the legislature pretty much or quite in the shape they desired."

Williamson Durley.

Springfield, October 3, 1845.

When I saw you at home, it was agreed that I should write to you and your brother Madison. Until I then saw you I was not aware of your being what is generally called an Abolitionist, or, as you call yourself, a Liberty man, though I well knew there were many such in your country.

I was glad to hear that you intended to attempt to bring about, at the next election in Putnam, a union of the Whigs proper and such of the Liberty men as are Whigs in principle on all questions save only that of slavery. So far as I can perceive, by such union neither party need yield anything on *the* point in difference between them. If the Whig abolitionists of New York had voted with us last fall, Mr. Clay would now be President, Whig principles in the ascendant, and Texas not annexed; whereas, by the division, all that either had at stake in the contest was lost. And, indeed, it was extremely probable, beforehand, that such would be the result. As I have always understood, the Liberty men deprecated the annexation of Texas extremely; and this being so, why they should refuse to cast their votes [*so*] as to prevent it, even to me seemed wonderful. What was their process of

reasoning, I can only judge from what a single one of them told me. It was this: "We are not to do evil that good may come." This general proposition is doubtless correct; but did it apply? If by your votes you could have prevented the *extension*, etc., of slavery, would it not have been *good*, and not *evil*, so to have used your votes, even though it involved the casting of them for a slave-holder? By the *fruit* the tree is to be known. An *evil* tree cannot bring forth *good* fruit. If the fruit of electing Mr. Clay would have been to prevent the extension of slavery, could the act of electing have been evil?

But I will not argue further. I perhaps ought to say that individually I never was much interested in the Texas question. I never could see much good to come of annexation, inasmuch as they were already a free republican people on our own model. On the other hand, I never could very clearly see how the annexation would augment the evil of slavery. It always seemed to me that slaves would be taken there in about equal numbers, with or without annexation. And if more *were* taken because of annexation, still there would be just so many the fewer left where they were taken from. It is possibly true, to some extent, that, with annexation, some slaves may be sent to Texas and continued in slavery that otherwise might have been liberated. To whatever extent this may be true, I think annexation an evil. I hold it to be a paramount duty of us in the free States, due to the Union of the States, and perhaps to liberty itself (paradox though it may seem), to let the slavery of the other States alone; while, on the other hand, I

hold it to be equally clear that we should never knowingly lend ourselves, directly or indirectly, to prevent that slavery from dying a natural death—to find new places for it to live in, when it can no longer exist in the old. Of course I am not now considering what would be our duty in cases of insurrection among the slaves. To recur to the Texas question, I understand the Liberty men to have viewed annexation as a much greater evil than ever I did, and I would like to convince you, if I could, that they could have prevented it, if they had chosen.

I intend this letter for you and Madison together, and if you and he, or either, shall think fit to drop me a line, I shall be pleased.

Yours with respect, A. Lincoln.

B. F. James.

Springfield, November 17, 1845.

Friend James: The paper at Pekin has nominated Hardin for Governor; and, commenting on this, the Alton paper indirectly nominated him for Congress. It would give Hardin a great start, and perhaps use me up, if the Whig papers of the district should nominate him for Congress. If your feelings toward me are the same as when I saw you (which I have no reason to doubt), I wish you would let nothing appear in your paper which may operate against me. You understand. Matters stand just as they did when I saw you. Baker is certainly off the track, for I fear Hardin intends to be on it.

In relation to the business you wrote me of some time since, I suppose the marshal called

on you; and we think it can be adjusted at court to the satisfaction of you and friend Thompson.

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, November 24, 1845.

Friend James: Yours of the 19th was not received till this morning. The error I fell into in relation to the Pekin paper I discovered myself the day after I wrote you. The way I fell into it was that Stuart (John T.) met me in the court, and told me about a nomination having been made in the Pekin paper, and about the comments upon it in the Alton paper; and without seeing either paper myself, I wrote you. In writing to you, I only meant to call your attention to the matter; and that done, I knew all would be right with you. Of course I should not have thought this necessary if at the time I had known that the nomination had been made in your paper. And let me assure you that if there is anything in my letter indicating an opinion that the nomination for Governor, which I supposed to have been made in the Pekin paper, was operating or could operate against me, such was not my meaning. Now that I know that nomination was made by you, I say that it may do me good, while I do not see that it can do me harm. But, while the subject is in agitation, should any of the papers in the district nominate the same man for Congress, that would do me harm; and it was that which I wished to guard against. Let me assure you that I do not for a moment suppose that what you have done is ill-judged, or that anything that you shall do will be. It was not to object to the course of the Pekin paper (as I thought it), but to guard

against any falling into the wake of the Alton paper, that I wrote.

You perhaps have noticed the *Journal's* article of last week upon the same subject. It was written without any consultation with me, but I was told by Francis of its purport before it was published. I chose to let it go as it was, lest it should be suspected that I was attempting to juggle Hardin out of a nomination for Congress by juggling him into one for Governor. If you, and the other papers a little more distant from me, choose to take the same course you have, of course I have no objection. After you shall have received this, I think we shall fully understand each other, and that our views as to the effect of these things are not dissimilar. Confidential, of course. Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, January 14, 1846.

Friend James: Yours of the 10th was not received until this morning. I cannot but be pleased with its contents. I saw Henry's communication in your paper, as also your editorial remarks, neither of which, in my opinion, was in any way misjudged—both quite the thing. I think just as you do concerning the dictation of the course of the Alton paper, and also concerning its utter harmlessness. As to the proposition to hold the convention at Petersburg, I will at once tell you all I know and all I feel. A good friend of ours there—John Bennett—wrote me that he thought it would do good with the Whigs of Menard to see a respectable convention conducted in good style. They are a little disinclined to adopt the convention system; and

Bennett thinks some of their prejudices would be done away by their having the convention amongst them. At his request, therefore, I had the little paragraph put in the *Journal.* This is all I know. Now as to what I feel. I feel a desire that they of Petersburg should be gratified, if it can be done without a sacrifice of the wishes of others, and without detriment to the cause—nothing more. I can gain nothing in the contest by having it there. I showed your letter to Stuart, and he thinks there is something in your suggestion of holding it at your town. I should be pleased if I could concur with you in the hope that my name would be the only one presented to the convention; but I cannot. Hardin is a man of desperate energy and perseverance, and one that never backs out; and, I fear, to think otherwise is to be deceived in the character of our adversary. I would rejoice to be spared the labor of a contest; but "being in," I shall go it thoroughly, and to the bottom. As to my being able to make a break in the lower counties, I tell you that I can possibly get Cass, but I do not think I will. Morgan and Scott are beyond my reach; Menard is safe to me; Mason, neck and neck; Logan is mine. To make the matter sure, your entire senatorial district must be secured. Of this I suppose Tazewell is safe; and I have much done in both the other counties. In Woodford I have Davenport, Simons, Willard, Bracken, Perry, Travis, Dr. Hazzard, and the Clarks and some others, all specially committed. At Lacon, in Marshall, the very most active friend I have in the district (if I except yourself) is at work. Through him I have procured their names, and written to three

or four of the most active Whigs in each precinct of the county. Still I wish you all in Tazewell to keep your eyes continually on Woodford and Marshall. Let no opportunity of making a mark escape. When they shall be safe, all will be safe, I think.

The Beardstown paper is entirely in the hands of my friends. The editor is a Whig, and personally dislikes Hardin. When the Supreme Court shall adjourn (which it is thought will be about the 15th of February), it is my intention to take a quiet trip through the towns and neighborhoods of Logan County, Delavan, Tremont, and on to and through the upper counties. Don't speak of this, or let it relax any of your vigilance. When I shall reach Tremont, we will talk over everything at large. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, January 16, 1846.

Dear James: A plan is on foot to change the mode of selecting the candidate for this district. The movement is intended to injure me, and, if effected, most likely would injure me to some extent. I have not time to give particulars now; but I want you to let nothing prevent your getting an article in your paper of this week, taking strong ground for the old system under which Hardin and Baker were nominated, without seeming to know or suspect that any one desires to change it. I have written Dr. Henry more at length, and he will probably call and consult with you on getting up the article; but whether he does or not, don't fail, on any account, to get it in this week. A. Lincoln.

Springfield, January 27, 1846.

Dear James: Yours, inclosing the article from the *Whig* is received. In my judgment, you have hit the matter exactly right. I believe it is too late to get the article in the *Journal* of this week; but Dickinson will understand it just as well from your paper, knowing as he does your position toward me. More than all, I wrote him at the same time I did you. As to suggestions for the committee, I would say appoint the convention for the first Monday of May. As to the place, I can hardly make a suggestion, so many points desiring it. I was at Petersburg Saturday and Sunday, and they are very anxious for it there. A friend has also written me desiring it at Beardstown.

I would have the committees leave the mode of choosing delegates to the Whigs of the different counties, as may best suit them respectively. I would have them propose, for the sake of uniformity, that the delegates should all be instructed as to their man, and the delegation of each county should go as a unit. If, without this, some counties should send united delegations and others divided ones, it might make bad work. Also have it proposed that when the convention shall meet, if there shall be any absent delegates, the members present may fill the vacancies with persons to act under the same instructions which may be known to have been given to such absentees. You understand. Other particulars I leave to you. I am sorry to say I am afraid I cannot go to Mason, so as to attend to your business; but if I shall determine to go there, I will write you.

Do you hear anything from Woodford and

Marshall? Davenport, ten days ago, passed through here, and told me Woodford is safe; but, though in hope, I am not entirely easy about Marshall. I have so few personal acquaintances in that county that I cannot get at [*it*] right. Dickinson is doing all that any one man can do; but it seems like it is an overtask for one. I suppose Dr. Henry will be with you on Saturday. I got a letter from him to-day on the same subject as yours, and shall write him before Saturday. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

ROBERT BOAL.

Springfield, January 7, 1846.

Dear Doctor: Since I saw you last fall, I have often thought of writing you, as it was then understood I would, but, on reflection, I have always found that I had nothing new to tell you. All has happened as I then told you I expected it would—Baker's declining, Hardin's taking the track, and so on.

If Hardin and I stood precisely equal, if *neither* of us had been to Congress, or if we *both* had—it would not only accord with what I have always done, for the sake of peace, to give way to him; and I expect I should do it. That *I* can voluntarily postpone my pretensions, when they are no more than equal to those to which they are postponed, you have yourself seen. But to yield to Hardin under present circumstances, seems to me as nothing else than yielding to one who would gladly sacrifice me altogether. This I would rather not submit to. That Hardin is talented, energetic, usually generous and magnanimous, I have, before this, affirmed

to you, and do not now deny. You know that my only argument is that "turn about is fair play." This he practically, at least, denies.

If it would not be taxing you too much, I wish you would write me, telling the aspect of things in your county, or rather your district; and also, send the names of some of your Whig neighbors, to whom I might, with propriety, write. Unless I can get some one to do this, Hardin, with his old franking list, will have the advantage of me. My reliance for a fair shake (and I want nothing more) in your county is chiefly on you, because of your position and standing, and because I am acquainted with so few others. Let me hear from you soon.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

To Dr. Robert Boal, Lacon, Ill.

On December 25, 1856, Lincoln wrote Dr. Boal from Springfield concerning the Doctor's aspirations for Speakership of the Illinois Legislature. He suggests that he see Arnold [*I. N.*], of Chicago, whom Lincoln had recently met and who, he thought, had aspirations for the office, but "was not anxious about it." "Go right up and see Arnold," Lincoln said. "He is talented, a practised debater, and, I think, would do himself more credit on the floor than in the Speaker's seat. . . . If you think fit, show him this letter.

"Your friend, as ever,"

(No Signature.)

N. J. Rockwell.

Springfield, January 21, 1846.

Dear Sir: You perhaps know that General Hardin and I have a contest for the Whig nomination for Congress in this district. He has had a turn and my argument is "Turn about is fair

play." I shall be pleased if this strikes you as a sufficient argument. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

WILLIAM JOHNSTON.

Tremont, April 18, 1846.

Friend Johnston: Your letter, written some six weeks since, was received in due course, and also the paper with the parody. It is true, as suggested it might be, that I have never seen Poe's "Raven"; and I very well know that a parody is almost entirely dependent for its interest upon the reader's acquaintance with the original. Still there is enough in the polecat, self-considered, to afford one several hearty laughs. I think four or five of the last stanzas are decidedly funny, particularly where Jeremiah "scrubbed and washed, and prayed and fasted."

I have not your letter now before me; but, from memory, I think you ask me who is the author of the piece I sent you, and that you do so ask as to indicate a slight suspicion that I myself am the author. Beyond all question, I am not the author. I would give all I am worth, and go in debt, to be able to write so fine a piece as I think that is. Neither do I know who is the author. I met it in a straggling form in a newspaper last summer, and I remember to have seen it once before, about fifteen years ago, and this is all I know about it. The piece of poetry of my own which I alluded to, I was led to write under the following circumstances: In the fall of 1844, thinking I might aid some to carry the State of Indiana for Mr. Clay, I went into the neighborhood in that State in which I was raised,

where my mother and only sister were buried, and from which I had been absent about fifteen years. That part of the country is, within itself, as unpoetical as any spot of the earth; but still, seeing it and its objects and inhabitants aroused feelings in me which were certainly poetry; though whether my expression of those feelings is poetry is quite another question. When I got to writing, the change of subject divided the thing into four little divisions or cantos, the first only of which I send you now, and may send the others hereafter. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

My childhood's home I see again,
And sadden with the view;
And still, as memory crowds my brain,
There's pleasure in it too.

O Memory! thou midway world
'Twixt earth and paradise,
Where things decayed and loved ones lost
In dreamy shadows rise,

And, freed from all that's earthly vile,
Seem hallowed, pure, and bright,
Like scenes in some enchanted isle
All bathed in liquid light.

As dusky mountains please the eye
When twilight chases day;
As bugle-notes that, passing by,
In distance die away;

As leaving some grand waterfall,
We, lingering, list its roar—
So memory will hallow all
We've known, but know no more.

Near twenty years have passed away
Since here I bid farewell
To woods and fields, and scenes of play,
And playmates loved so well.

Where many were, but few remain
Of old familiar things;
But seeing them, to mind again
The lost and absent brings.

The friends I left that parting day,
How changed, as time has sped!
Young childhood grown, strong manhood gray,
And half of all are dead.

I hear the loved survivors tell
How nought from death could save,
Till every sound appears a knell,
And every spot a grave.

I range the fields with pensive tread,
And pace the hollow rooms,
And feel (companion of the dead)
I'm living in the tombs.

Springfield, September 6, 1846.

Friend Johnston: You remember when I wrote you from Tremont last spring, sending you a little canto of what I called poetry, I promised to bore you with another some time. I now fulfill the promise. The subject of the present one is an insane man; his name is Matthew Gentry. He is three years older than I, and when we were boys we went to school together. He was rather a bright lad, and the son of *the* rich man of a very poor neighborhood. At the age of nineteen he unaccountably became furiously mad, from which condition he gradually settled down into harmless insanity. When, as I told you in my other letter, I visited my old home in the fall of 1844, I found him still lingering in this wretched condition. In my poetizing mood, I could not forget the impression his case made upon me. Here is the result·

But here's an object more of dread
  Than aught the grave contains—
A human form with reason fled,
  While wretched life remains.

When terror spread, and neighbors ran
  Your dangerous strength to bind,
And soon, a howling, crazy man,
  Your limbs were fast confined:

How then you strove and shrieked aloud,
  Your bones and sinews bared;
And fiendish on the gazing crowd
  With burning eyeballs glared;

And begged and swore, and wept and prayed,
  With maniac laughter joined;
How fearful were these signs displayed
  By pangs that killed the mind!

And when at length the drear and long
  Time soothed thy fiercer woes,
How plaintively thy mournful song
  Upon the still night rose!

I've heard it oft as if I dreamed,
  Far distant, sweet and lone,
The funeral dirge it ever seemed
  Of reason dead and gone.

To drink its strains I've stole away,
  All stealthily and still,
Ere yet the rising god of day
  Had streaked the eastern hill.

Air held her breath; trees with the spell
  Seemed sorrowing angels round,
Whose swelling tears in dewdrops fell
  Upon the listening ground.

But this is past, and naught remains
  That raised thee o'er the brute;
Thy piercing shrieks and soothing strain
  Are like, forever mute.

Now fare thee well! More thou the cause
Than subject now of woe,
All mental pangs by time's kind laws
Hast lost the power to know.

O death! thou awe-inspiring prince
That keepst the world in fear,
Why dost thou tear more blest ones hence,
And leave him lingering here?

If I should ever send another, the subject will be a "Bear-Hunt." Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, February 25, 1847.

Dear Johnston: Yours of the 2d of December was duly delivered to me by Mr. Williams. To say the least, I am not at all displeased with your proposal to publish the poetry, or doggerel, or whatever else it may be called, which I sent you. I consent that it may be done, together with the third canto, which I now send you. Whether the prefatory remarks in my letter shall be published with the verses, I leave entirely to your discretion; but let names be suppressed by all means. I have not sufficient hope of the verses attracting any favorable notice to tempt me to risk being ridiculed for having written them.

Why not drop into the paper, at the same time, the "half dozen stanzas of your own"? Or if, for any reason, it suits your feelings better, send them to me, and I will take pleasure in putting them in the paper here. Family well, and nothing new. Yours sincerely, A. Lincoln.

James Berdan.

Springfield, April 26, 1846.

Jas. Berdan, Esq., Jacksonville, Ill.

Dear Sir: I thank you for the promptness with which you answered my letter from Bloomington. I also thank you for the frankness with which you comment upon a certain part of my letter; because that comment affords me an opportunity of trying to express myself better than I did before, seeing, as I do, that in that part of my letter, you have not understood me as I intended to be understood. In speaking of the "*dissatisfaction*" of men who yet mean to do no wrong, etc., I meant no special application of what I said to the Whigs of Morgan, or of Morgan & Scott. I only had in my mind the fact, that previous to General Hardin's withdrawal some of his friends and some of mine had become a little warm; and I felt, and meant to say, that for them now to meet face to face and converse together was the best way to efface any remnant of unpleasant feeling, if any such existed. I did not suppose that General Hardin's friends were in any greater need of having their feelings corrected than mine were. Since I saw you at Jacksonville, I have had no more suspicion of the Whigs of Morgan than of those of any other part of the district. I write this only to try to remove any impression that I distrust you and the other Whigs of your county.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

On May 7, 1846, Lincoln wrote from Springfield to James Berdan of Jacksonville, Illinois, of his intention to make a speech there on the fourth Monday of the month, the time of holding court.

It is a matter of high moral obligation, if not of necessity, for me to attend the Coles and Edwards [*county*] courts. I have some cases in both of them, in which the parties have my promise, and are depending upon me. I mention [*this*] in order that if I should not reach Jacksonville at the time named you may know the reason why. I do not, however, think there is much danger of my being detained; as I shall go with a purpose not to be, and consequently shall engage in no new cases that might delay me.

WILLIAM H. HERNDON.

Lincoln and Herndon became law partners in 1845, the firm becoming dissolved only by Lincoln's death. Lincoln was considerably older than Herndon, and so gave him much fatherly advice. After Lincoln's death, Herndon began industriously to collect letters and other material for a biography of Lincoln. Part of this material he turned over to Ward H. Lamon for use in his *Life of Lincoln*, and part he used in his own biography of Lincoln, the latest edition of which is called *Abraham Lincoln, by Herndon and Weik*.

Washington, December 5, 1847.

Dear William: . . . There is nothing of consequence new here. Congress is to organize tomorrow. Last night we held a Whig caucus for the House, and nominated Winthrop of Massachusetts for Speaker, Sargent of Pennsylvania for sergeant-at-arms, Homer of New Jersey doorkeeper, and McCormick of District of Columbia postmaster. The Whig majority in the House is so small that, together with some little dissatisfaction, [*it*] . . . leaves it doubtful whether we will elect them all.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Washington, December 13, 1847.

Dear William: Your letter, advising me of the receipt of our fee in the bank case, is just received, and I don't expect to hear another as good a piece of news from Springfield while I am away. I am under no obligations to the bank; and I therefore wish you to buy bank certificates, and pay my debt there, so as to pay it with the least money possible. I would as soon you should buy them of Mr. Ridgely, or any other person at the bank, as of any one else, provided you can get them as cheaply. I suppose, after the bank debt shall be paid, there will be some money left, out of which I would like to have you pay Lavely and Stout twenty dollars, and Priest and somebody (oil-makers) ten dollars, for materials got for house-painting. If there shall still be any left, keep it till you see or hear from me.

I shall begin sending documents so soon as I can get them. I wrote you yesterday about a *Congressional Globe*. As you are all so anxious for me to distinguish myself, I have concluded to do so before long.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Washington, January 8, 1848.

Dear William: Your letter of December 27 was received a day or two ago. I am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken, and promise to take in my little business there. As to speechmaking, by way of getting the hang of the House I made a little speech two or three days ago on a post-office question of no general interest. I find speaking here and elsewhere about the same thing. I was about as badly scared,

and no worse, as I am when I speak in court. I expect to make one within a week or two, in which I hope to succeed well enough to wish you to see it.

It is very pleasant to learn from you that there are some who desire that I should be reëlected. I most heartily thank them for their kind partiality; and I can say, as Mr. Clay said of the annexation of Texas, that "personally I would not object" to a reëlection, although I thought at the time, and still think, it would be quite as well for me to return to the law at the end of a single term. I made the declaration that I would not be a candidate again, more from a wish to deal fairly with others, to keep peace among our friends, and to keep the district from going to the enemy, than for any cause personal to myself; so that, if it should so happen that nobody else wishes to be elected, I could not refuse the people the right of sending me again. But to enter myself as a competitor of others, or to authorize any one so to enter me, is what my word and honor forbid.

I got some letters intimating a probability of so much difficulty amongst our friends as to lose us the district; but I remember such letters were written to Baker when my own case was under consideration, and I trust there is no more ground for such apprehension now than there was then. Remember I am always glad to receive a letter from you.

Most truly your friend, A. Lincoln.

Washington, January 19, 1848.

Dear William: Inclosed you find a letter of Louis W. Chandler. . . . At all events write me

all about it, till I can somehow get it off my hands. I have already been bored more than enough about it; not the least of which annoyance is his cursed, unreadable, and ungodly handwriting.

I have made a speech, a copy of which I will send you by next mail.[1]

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Washington, February 1, 1848.

Dear William: Your letter of the 19th ultimo was received last night, and for which I am much obliged. The only thing in it that I wish to talk to you at once about is that because of my vote for Ashmun's amendment you fear that you and I disagree about the war. I regret this, not because of any fear we shall remain disagreed after you have read this letter, but because if you misunderstand I fear other good friends may also. That vote affirms that the war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President; and I will stake my life that if you had been in my place you would have voted just as I did. Would you have voted what you felt and knew to be a lie? I know you would not. Would you have gone out of the House—skulked the vote? I expect not. If you had skulked one vote, you would have had to skulk many more before the end of the session. Richardson's resolutions, introduced before I made any move or gave any vote upon the subject, make the direct question of the justice of the war; so that no man can be silent if he would. You are compelled to speak; and your only alternative is to tell the

[1] See Speeches.

truth or a lie. I cannot doubt which you would do.

This vote has nothing to do in determining my votes on the questions of supplies. I have always intended, and still intend, to vote supplies; perhaps not in the precise form recommended by the President,[1] but in a better form for all purposes, except Locofoco party purposes. It is in this particular you seem mistaken. The Locos are untiring in their efforts to make the impression that all who vote supplies or take part in the war do of necessity approve the President's conduct in the beginning of it; but the Whigs have from the beginning made and kept the distinction between the two. In the very first act nearly all the Whigs voted against the preamble declaring that war existed by the act of Mexico; and yet nearly all of them voted for the supplies. As to the Whig men who have participated in the war, so far as they have spoken in my hearing they do not hesitate to denounce as unjust the President's conduct in the beginning of the war. They do not suppose that such denunciation is directed by undying hatred to him, as the *Register* would have it believed. There are two such Whigs on this floor (Colonel Haskell and Major James). The former fought as a colonel by the side of Colonel Baker at Cerro Gordo, and stands side by side with me in the vote that you seem dissatisfied with. The latter, the history of whose capture with Cassius Clay you well know, had not arrived here when that vote was given; but, as I understand, he stands ready to give just such a vote whenever an occasion shall present. Baker, too, who is now

[1] James K. Polk.

here, says the truth is undoubtedly that way; and whenever he shall speak out, he will say so. Colonel Doniphan, too, the favorite Whig of Missouri, and who overran all Northern Mexico, on his return home in a public speech at St. Louis condemned the Administration in relation to the war, if I remember. G. T. M. Davis, who has been through almost the whole war, declares in favor of Mr. Clay; from which I infer that he adopts the sentiments of Mr. Clay, generally at least. On the other hand, I have heard of but one Whig who has been to the war attempting to justify the President's conduct. That one was Captain Bishop, editor of the Charleston *Courier,* and a very clever fellow. I do not mean this letter for the public, but for you. Before it reaches you, you will have seen and read my pamphlet speech, and perhaps been scared anew by it. After you get over your scare, read it over again, sentence by sentence, and tell me honestly what you think of it. I condensed all I could for fear of being cut off by the hour rule, and when I got through I had spoken but forty-five minutes.[1]

Yours forever, A. Lincoln.

Washington, February 2, 1848.

Dear William: I just take my pen to say that Mr. Stephens,[2] of Georgia, a little, slim, pale-faced, consumptive man, with a voice like Logan's, has just concluded the very best speech of an hour's length I ever heard. My old withered dry eyes are full of tears yet.

[1] See speech on the Mexican War, in Speeches.

[2] Alexander H. Stephens, Whig Representative from Georgia, later Vice-President of the Confederacy. The speech referred to was on the Mexican War.

If he writes it out anything like he delivered it, our people shall see a good many copies of it.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Washington, February 15, 1848.

Dear William: Your letter of the 29th January was received last night. Being exclusively a constitutional argument, I wish to submit some reflections upon it in the same spirit of kindness that I know actuates you. Let me first state what I understand to be your position. It is that if it shall become necessary to repel invasion, the President may, without violation of the Constitution, cross the line and invade the territory of another country, and that whether such necessity exists in any given case the President is the sole judge.

Before going further consider well whether this is or is not your position. If it is, it is a position that neither the President himself, nor any friend of his, so far as I know, has ever taken. Their only positions are—first, that the soil was ours when the hostilities commenced; and second, that whether it was rightfully ours or not, Congress had annexed it, and the President for that reason was bound to defend it; both of which are as clearly proved to be false in fact as you can prove that your house is mine. The soil was not ours, and Congress did not annex or attempt to annex it. But to return to your position. Allow the President to invade a neighboring nation whenever he shall deem it necessary to repel an invasion, and you allow him to do so whenever he may choose to say he deems it necessary for such purpose, and you allow him to make war at pleasure. Study to see

if you can fix any limit to his power in this respect, after having given him so much as you propose. If to-day he should choose to say he thinks it necessary to invade Canada to prevent the British from invading us, how could you stop him? You may say to him, "I see no probability of the British invading us"; but he will say to you, "Be silent: I see it, if you don't."

The provision of the Constitution giving the war-making power to Congress was dictated, as I understand it, by the following reasons: Kings had always been involving and impoverishing their people in wars, pretending generally, if not always, that the good of the people was the object. This our convention understood to be the most oppressive of all kingly oppressions, and they resolved to so frame the Constitution that no one man should hold the power of bringing this oppression upon us. But your view destroys the whole matter, and places our President where kings have always stood. Write soon again. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Washington, June 22, 1848.

Dear William: Last night I was attending a sort of caucus of the Whig members, held in relation to the coming presidential election. The whole field of the nation was scanned, and all is high hope and confidence. Illinois is expected to better her condition in this race. Under these circumstances, judge how heartrending it was to come to my room and find and read your discouraging letter of the 15th. We have made no gains, but have lost "H. R. Robinson, Turner, Campbell, and four or five more." Tell Arney

to reconsider, if he would be saved. Baker and I used to do something, but I think you attach more importance to our absence than is just. There is another cause. In 1840, for instance, we had two senators and five representatives in Sangamon; now we have part of one senator and two representatives. With quite one third more people than we had then, we have only half the sort of offices which are sought by men of the speaking sort of talent. This, I think, is the chief cause. Now, as to the young men. You must not wait to be brought forward by the older men. For instance, do you suppose that I should ever have got into notice if I had waited to be hunted up and pushed forward by older men? You young men get together and form a "Rough and Ready Club," and have regular meetings and speeches. Take in everybody you can get. Harrison Grimsley, L. A. Enos, Lee Kimball, and C. W. Matheny will do to begin the thing; but as you go along gather up all the shrewd, wild boys about town, whether just of age or a little under age—Chris. Logan, Reddick Ridgely, Lewis Zwizler, and hundreds such. Let every one play the part he can play best—some speak, some sing, and all "holler." Your meetings will be of evenings; the older men, and the women, will go to hear you; so that it will not only contribute to the election of "Old Zach,"[1] but will be an interesting pastime, and improving to the intellectual faculties of all engaged. Don't fail to do this.

You ask me to send you all the speeches made about "Old Zach," the war, etc. Now this makes me a little impatient. I have regularly sent you

[1] General Zachary Taylor, Whig candidate for President.

the *Congressional Globe* and *Appendix,* and you cannot have examined them, or you would have discovered that they contain every speech, made by every man in both houses of Congress, on every subject, during the session. Can I send any more? Can I send speeches that nobody has made? Thinking it would be most natural that the newspapers would feel interested to give at least some of the speeches to their readers, I at the beginning of the session made arrangements to have one copy of the *Globe* and *Appendix* regularly sent to each Whig paper of the district. And yet, with the exception of my own little speech, which was published in two only of the then five, now four, Whig papers, I do not remember having seen a single speech, or even extract from one, in any single one of those papers. With equal and full means on both sides, I will venture that the *State Register* has thrown before its readers more of Locofoco speeches in a month than all the Whig papers of the district have done of Whig speeches during the session.

If you wish a full understanding of the war, I repeat what I believe I said to you in a letter once before, that the whole, or nearly so, is to be found in the speech of Dixon of Connecticut. This I sent you in pamphlet as well as in the *Globe.* Examine and study every sentence of that speech thoroughly, and you will understand the whole subject. You ask how Congress came to declare that war had existed by the act of Mexico. Is it possible you don't understand that yet? You have at least twenty speeches in your possession that fully explain it. I will, however, try it once more. The news reached Washington of the commencement of hostilities on the

Rio Grande, and of the great peril of General Taylor's army. Everybody, Whigs and Democrats, was for sending them aid, in men and money. It was necessary to pass a bill for this. The Locos had a majority in both houses, and they brought in a bill with a preamble saying: *Whereas,* War exists by the act of Mexico, therefore we send General Taylor money. The Whigs moved to strike out the preamble, so that they could vote to send the men and money, without saying anything about how the war commenced; but being in the minority, they were voted down, and the preamble was retained. Then, on the passage of the bill, the question came upon them, Shall we vote for preamble and bill together, or against both together? They did not want to vote against sending help to General Taylor, and therefore they voted for both together. Is there any difficulty in understanding this? Even my little speech shows how this was; and if you will go to the library, you may get the *Journal* of 1845–46, in which you will find the whole for yourself.

We have nothing published yet with special reference to the Taylor race; but we soon will have, and then I will send them to everybody. I made an internal-improvement speech day before yesterday, which I shall send home as soon as I can get it written out and printed—and which I suppose nobody will read.

Your friend as ever, A. Lincoln.

Washington, July 10, 1848.

Dear William: Your letter covering the newspaper slips was received last night. The subject of that letter is exceedingly painful to me; and

I cannot but think there is some mistake in your impression of the motives of the old men. I suppose I am now one of the old men;[1] and I declare, on my veracity, which I think is good with you, that nothing could afford me more satisfaction than to learn that you and others of my young friends at home are doing battle in the contest, and endearing themselves to the people, and taking a stand far above any I have ever been able to reach in their admiration. I cannot conceive that other old men feel differently. Of course I cannot demonstrate what I say; but I was young once, and I am sure I was never ungenerously thrust back. I hardly know what to say. The way for a young man to rise is to improve himself every way he can, never suspecting that anybody wishes to hinder him. Allow me to assure you that suspicion and jealousy never did help any man in any situation. There may sometimes be ungenerous attempts to keep a young man down; and they will succeed, too, if he allows his mind to be diverted from its true channel to brood over the attempted injury. Cast about, and see if this feeling has not injured every person you have ever known to fall into it.

Now, in what I have said, I am sure you will suspect nothing but sincere friendship. I would save you from a fatal error. You have been a laborious, studious young man. You are far better informed on almost all subjects than I have ever been. You cannot fail in any laudable object, unless you allow your mind to be improperly directed. I have somewhat the advantage

[1] At this time Lincoln had not completed his fortieth year!

of you in the world's experience, merely by being older; and it is this that induces me to advise. You still seem to be a little mistaken about the *Congressional Globe* and *Appendix*. They contain all of the speeches that are published in any way. My speech and Dayton's speech, which you say you got in pamphlet form, are both, word for word, in the *Appendix*. I repeat again, all are there. Your friend, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, June 5, 1849.

Dear William: Your two letters were received last night. I have a great many letters to write, and so cannot write very long ones. There must be some mistake about Walter Davis saying I promised him the post-office. I did not so promise him. I did tell him that if the distribution of the offices should fall into my hands, he should have something; and if I shall be convinced he has said any more than this, I shall be disappointed. I said this much to him because, as I understand, he is of good character, is one of the *young* men, is of the mechanics, and always faithful and never troublesome; a Whig, and is poor, with the support of a widow mother thrown almost exclusively on him by the death of his brother. If these are wrong reasons, then I have been wrong; but I have certainly not been selfish in it, because in my greatest need of friends he was against me, and for Baker.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

P. S.—Let the above be confidential.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 3, 1862.

Dear William: Yours of January 30th just received. Do just as you say about the money matter. As you well know, I have not time to write a letter of respectable length. God bless you, says Your friend, A. Lincoln.

JOSEPHUS HEWETT.

Washington, February 13, 1848.

Dear Hewett: Your Whig representative from Mississippi, D. W. Tompkins, has just shown me a letter of yours to him. I am jealous because you did not write to me—perhaps you have forgotten me. Don't you remember a long black fellow who rode on horseback with you from Tremont to Springfield nearly ten years ago, swimming our horses over the Mackinaw on the trip? Well, I am that one fellow yet. I was once of your opinion, expressed in your letter, that presidential electors should be dispensed with, but a more thorough knowledge of the causes that first introduced them has made me doubt. The causes are briefly these: The convention that framed the Constitution had this difficulty: the small States wished to so form the new government as that they might be equal to the large ones, regardless of the inequality of population; the large ones insisted on equality in proportion to population. They compromised it by basing the House of Representatives on *population*, and the Senate on States regardless of population, and the execution of both principles by electors in each State, equal in number to her Senators and Representatives.

Now throw away the machinery of electors and this compromise is broken up and the whole yielded to the principle of the larger States. There is one thing more. In the slave States you have representatives, and consequently electors, partly upon the basis of your slave population, which would be swept away by the change you seem to think desirable. Have you ever reflected on these things?

But to come to the main point. I wish you to know that I have made a speech in Congress, and that I want you to be *enlightened* by reading it; to further which object I send you a copy of the speech by this mail.[1]

For old acquaintance's sake, if for nothing else, be sure to write to me on receiving this. I was very near forgetting to tell you that on my being introduced to General Quitman and telling him I was from Springfield, Illinois, he at once remarked, "Then you know my valued friend Hewett of Natchez"; and on being assured I did, he said just such things about you as I like to hear said about my own valued friends.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

David Lincoln.

Washington, March 24, 1848.

Mr. David Lincoln.

Dear Sir: Your very worthy representative, Governor McDowell, has given me your name and address, and as my father was born in Rockingham, from whence his father, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated to Kentucky about the year 1782, I have concluded to address you to ascertain

[1] Speech on the Mexican War; see Speeches.

whether we are not of the same family. I shall be much obliged if you will write me, telling me whether you in any way know anything of my grandfather, what relation you are to him, and so on. Also, if you know where your family came from when they settled in Virginia, tracing them back as far as your knowledge extends.

Very respectfully, A. Lincoln.

Washington, April 2, 1848.

Dear Sir: Last evening I was much gratified by receiving and reading your letter of the 30th of March. There is no longer any doubt that your uncle Abraham and my grandfather was the same man. His family did reside in Washington County, Kentucky, just as you say you found them in 1801 or 1802. The oldest son, Uncle Mordecai, near twenty years ago removed from Kentucky to Hancock County, Illinois, where within a year or two afterward he died, and where his surviving children now live. His two sons there now are Abraham and Mordecai; and their post-office is "La Harpe." Uncle Josiah, farther back than my recollection, went from Kentucky to Blue River in Indiana. I have not heard from him in a great many years, and whether he is still living I cannot say. My recollection of what I have heard is that he has several daughters and only one son, Thomas—their post-office is "Corydon, Harrison County, Indiana." My father, Thomas, is still living, in Coles County, Illinois, being in the seventy-first year of his age—his post-office is "Charleston, Coles County, Illinois"—I am his only child. I am now in my fortieth year; and I live in Spring-

field, Sangamon County, Illinois. This is the outline of my grandfather's family in the West.

I think my father has told me that grandfather had four brothers—Isaac, Jacob, John, and Thomas. Is that correct? And which of them was your father? Are any of them alive? I am quite sure that Isaac resided on Watauga, near a point where Virginia and Tennessee join; and that he has been dead more than twenty, perhaps thirty, years; also that Thomas removed to Kentucky, near Lexington, where he died a good while ago.

What was your grandfather's Christian name? Was he not a Quaker? About what time did he emigrate from Berks County, Pennsylvania, to Virginia? Do you know anything of your family (or rather I may now say our family), farther back than your grandfather?

If it be not too much trouble to you, I shall be much pleased to hear from you again. Be assured I will call on you, should anything ever bring me near you. I shall give your respects to Governor McDowell as you desire.

Very truly yours, A. Lincoln.

E. B. Washburne.

Elihu B. Washburne was a Whig lawyer of Galena, Ill. He served in Congress as a Representative from 1853 to 1869, becoming known as the "Father of the House." President Grant, his townsman, appointed him Minister to France.

Washington, April 30, 1848.

Dear Washburne: I have this moment received your very short note asking me if old Taylor is to be used up, and who will be the nominee. My

hope of Taylor's nomination is as high—a little higher than it was when you left. Still, the case is by no means out of doubt. Mr. Clay's letter has not advanced his interests any here. Several who were against Taylor, but not for anybody particularly, before, are since taking ground, some for Scott and some for McLean. Who will be nominated neither I nor any one else can tell. Now, let me pray to you in turn. My prayer is that you let nothing discourage or baffle you, but that, in spite of every difficulty, you send us a good Taylor delegate from your circuit. Make Baker, who is now with you, I suppose, help about it. He is a good hand to raise a breeze.

General Ashley, in the Senate from Arkansas, died yesterday. Nothing else new beyond what you see in the papers. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, December 11, 1854.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: Your note of the 5th is just received. It is too true that by the official returns Allen beats Colonel Archer one vote. There is a report to-day that there is a mistake in the returns from Clay County, giving Allen sixty votes more than he really has; but this, I fear, is itself a mistake. I have just examined the returns from that county at the secretary's office, and find that the aggregate vote for sheriff only falls short by three votes of the aggregate, as reported, of Allen and Archer's vote. Our friends, however, are hot on the track, and will probe the matter to the bottom. As to my own matter, things continue to look reasonably well. I wrote your friend, George Gage; and three days ago

had an answer from him, in which he talks out plainly, as your letter taught me to expect. To-day I had a letter from Turner. He says he is not committed, and will not be until he sees how most effectually to oppose slavery extension.

I have not ventured to write all the members in your district, lest some of them should be offended by the indelicacy of the thing—that is, coming from a total stranger. Could you not drop some of them a line?

Very truly your friend, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, December 14, 1854.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: So far as I am concerned, there must be something wrong about United States senator at Chicago. My most intimate friends there do not answer my letters, and I cannot get a word from them. Wentworth has a knack of knowing things better than most men. I wish you would pump him, and write me what you get from him. Please do this as soon as you can, as the time is growing short. Don't let any one know I have written you this; for there may be those opposed to me nearer about you than you think. Very truly yours, etc.,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, December 19, 1854.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 12th just received. The objection of your friend at Winnebago rather astonishes me. For a senator to be the impartial representative of his whole State is so plain a duty that I pledge myself to the observance of it without hesitation, but not without

some mortification that any one should suspect me of an inclination to the contrary. I was eight years a representative of Sangamon County in the legislature; and although in a conflict of interests between that and other counties it perhaps would have been my duty to stick to old Sangamon, yet it is not within my recollection that the northern members ever wanted my vote for any interest of theirs without getting it. My distinct recollection is that the northern members and Sangamon members were always on good terms, and always coöperating on measures of policy. The canal was then the great northern measure, and it from first to last had our votes as readily as the votes of the north itself. Indeed, I shall be surprised if it can be pointed out that in any instance the north sought our aid and failed to get it.

Again, I was a member of Congress one term —the term when Mr. Turner was the legal member and you were a lobby member from your then district. Now I think I might appeal to Mr. Turner and yourself, whether you did not always have my feeble service for the asking. In the case of conflict, I might without blame have preferred my own district. As a senator I should claim no right, as I should feel no inclination, to give the central portion of the State any preference over the north, or any other portion of it. Very truly your friend,

A. Lincoln.

[*Confidential.*]

Springfield, January 6, 1855.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: I telegraphed you as to the organization of the two houses. T. J. Turner elected Speaker, 40 to 24; House not full; Dr. Richmond of Schuyler was his opponent; Anti-Nebraska also elected all the other officers of the House of Representatives. In the Senate Anti-Nebraska elected George T. Brown, of the Alton *Courier*, secretary; and Dr. Ray, of the Galena *Jeffersonian*, one of the clerks. In fact they elected all the officers, but some of them were Nebraska men elected over the regular Nebraska nominees. It is said that by this they get one or two Nebraska senators to go for bringing on the senatorial election. I cannot vouch for this. As to the senatorial election, I think very little more is known than was before the meeting of the legislature. Besides the ten or a dozen on our side who are willing to be known as candidates, I think there are fifty secretly watching for a chance. I do not know that it is much advantage to have the largest number of votes at the start. If I did know this to be an advantage, I should feel better, for I cannot doubt but I have more committals than any other man. [*Here follow a detailed statement of those legislators who are likely to support him, and a tabulation of his estimate of the vote which shows a majority in his favor of 14.*]

Our special election here is plain enough when understood. Our adversaries pretended to be running no candidate, secretly notified all their men to be on hand, and, favored by a very rainy

day, got a complete snap judgment on us. In November Sangamon gave Yates 2,166 votes. On the rainy day she gave our man only 984, leaving him 82 votes behind. After all, the result is not of the least consequence. The Locos kept up a great chattering over it till the organization of the House of Representatives, since which they all seem to have forgotten it. G.'s letter to L., I think, has not been received. Ask him if he sent it. Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, February 9, 1855.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: The agony is over at last, and the result you doubtless know. I write this only to give you some particulars to explain what might appear difficult of understanding. I began with 44 votes, Shields 41, and Trumbull 5—yet Trumbull was elected. In fact, 47 different members voted for me—getting three new ones on the second ballot, and losing four old ones. How came my 47 to yield to Trumbull's 5? It was Governor Matteson's work. He has been secretly a candidate ever since (before, even) the fall election. All the members round about the canal were Anti-Nebraska, but were nevertheless nearly all Democrats and old personal friends of his. His plan was to privately impress them with the belief that he was as good Anti-Nebraska as any one else—at least could be secured to be so by instructions, which could be easily passed. In this way he got from four to six of that sort of men to really prefer his election to that of any other man—all *sub rosa*, of course. One notable instance of this sort was with Mr.

Strunk of Kankakee. At the beginning of the session he came a volunteer to tell me he was for me and would walk a hundred miles to elect me; but lo! it was not long before he leaked it out that he was going for me the first few ballots and then for Governor Matteson.

The Nebraska men, of course, were not for Matteson; but when they found they could elect no avowed Nebraska man, they tardily determined to let him get whomever of our men he could, by whatever means he could, and ask him no questions. In the meantime Osgood, Don Morrison, and Trapp of St. Clair had openly gone over from us. With the united Nebraska force and their recruits, open and covert, it gave Matteson more than enough to elect him. We saw into it plainly ten days ago, but with every possible effort could not head it off. All that remained of the Anti-Nebraska force, excepting Judd, Cook, Palmer, Baker and Allen of Madison, and two or three of the secret Matteson men, would go into caucus, and I could get the nomination of that caucus. But the three senators and one of the two representatives above named "could never vote for a Whig," and this incensed some twenty Whigs to "think" they would never vote for the man of the five. So we stood, and so we went into the fight yesterday—the Nebraska men very confident of the election of Matteson, though denying that he was a candidate, and we very much believing also that they would elect him. But they wanted first to make a show of good faith to Shields by voting for him a few times, and our secret Matteson men also wanted to make a show of good faith by voting with us a few times. So we

led off. On the seventh ballot, I think, the signal was given to the Nebraska men to turn to Matteson, which they acted on to a man, with one exception, my old friend Strunk going with them, giving him 44 votes. Next ballot the remaining Nebraska men and one pretended Anti went over to him, giving him 46. The next still another, giving him 47, wanting only three of an election. In the meantime our friends, with a view of detaining our expected bolters, had been turning from me to Trumbull till he had risen to 35 and I had been reduced to 15. These would never desert me except by my direction; but I became satisfied that if we could prevent Matteson's election one or two ballots more, we could not possibly do so a single ballot after my friends should begin to return to me from Trumbull. So I determined to strike at once, and accordingly advised my remaining friends to go for him, which they did and elected him on the tenth ballot.

Such is the way the thing was done. I think you would have done the same under the circumstances; though Judge Davis, who came down this morning, declares he never would have consented to the forty-seven men being controlled by the five. I regret my defeat moderately, but I am not nervous about it. I could have headed off every combination and been elected, had it not been for Matteson's double game—and his defeat now gives me more pleasure than my own gives me pain. On the whole, it is perhaps as well for our general cause that Trumbull is elected. The Nebraska men confess that they hate it worse than anything that could have happened. It is a great consolation to see

them worse whipped than I am. I tell them it is their own fault—that they had abundant opportunity to choose between him and me, which they declined, and instead forced it on me to decide between him and Matteson.

With my grateful acknowledgments for the kind, active, and continued interest you have taken for me in this matter, allow me to subscribe myself.

Yours forever, A. Lincoln.

Urbana, Illinois, April 26, 1858.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: I am rather a poor correspondent, but I think perhaps I ought to write you a letter just now. I am here at this time, but I was at home during the sitting of the two Democratic conventions. The day before those conventions I received a letter from Chicago, having among other things on other subjects the following in it:

> A reliable Republican, but an old-line Whig lawyer, in this city told me to-day that he himself had seen a letter from one of our Republican congressmen, advising us all to go for the reëlection of Judge Douglas. He said he was enjoined to keep the author a secret, and he was going to do so. From him I learned that he was not an old-line Democrat or Abolitionist. This narrows the contest down to the congressmen from the Galena and Fulton districts.

The above is a literal copy of all the letter contained on that subject. The morning of the conventions, Mr. Herndon showed me your letter of the 15th to him, which convinced me that the story in the letter from Chicago was based upon some mistake, misconstruction of language, or

the like. Several of our friends were down from Chicago, and they had something of the same story amongst them, some half suspecting that you were inclined to favor Douglas, and others thinking there was an effort to wrong you.

I thought neither was exactly the case; that the whole had originated in some misconstruction coupled with a high degree of sensitiveness on the point, and that the whole matter was not worth another moment's consideration.

Such is my opinion now, and I hope you will have no concern about it. I have written this because Charley Wilson told me he was writing you, and because I expect Dr. Ray (who was a little excited about the matter) has also written you; and because I think I, perhaps, have taken a calmer view of the thing than they may have done. I am satisfied you have done no wrong, and nobody has intended any wrong to you.

A word about the conventions. The Democracy parted in not a very encouraged state of mind. On the contrary, our friends, a good many of whom were present, parted in high spirits. They think if we do not triumph, the fault will be our own, and so I really think.

Your friend as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, May 10, 1858.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: I have just reached home from the circuit, and found your letter of the 2d, for which I thank you. My other letter to you was meant for nothing but to hedge against bad feeling being gotten up between those who ought to

be friends, out of the incident mentioned in that letter. I sent you an extract from the Chicago letter in order to let you see that the writer did not profess to know anything himself; and I now add that his informant told me that he did tell him exactly what he wrote me—at least I distinctly so understood him. The informant is an exceedingly clever fellow; and I think he, having had a hasty glance at your letter to Charley Wilson, misconstrued it, and consequently misreported it to the writer of the letter to me. I must repeat that I think the thing did not originate in malice to you, or to any one, and that the best way all round is to now forget it entirely. Will you not adjourn in time to be here at our State convention in June?

Your friend as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, May 15, 1858.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 6th, accompanied by yours of April 12th to C. L. Wilson, was received day before yesterday. There certainly is nothing in the letter to Wilson which I in particular, or Republicans in general, could complain of. Of that I was quite satisfied before I saw the letter. I believe there has been no malicious intent to misrepresent you; I hope there is no longer any misunderstanding, and that the matter may drop.

Eight or ten days ago I wrote Kellogg from Beardstown. Get him to show you the letter. It gave my view of the field as it appeared then. Nothing has occurred since except that it grows more and more quiet since the passage of the English contrivance.

The *State Register* here is evidently laboring to bring its old friends into what the doctors call the "comatose state"—that is, a sort of drowsy, dreamy condition, in which they may not perceive or remember that there has ever been, or is, any difference between Douglas and the President. This could be done if the Buchanan men would allow it—which, however, the latter seem determined not to do.

I think our prospects gradually and steadily grow better, though we are not yet clear out of the woods by a great deal. There is still some effort to make trouble out of "Americanism." If that were out of the way, for all the rest, I believe we should be "out of the woods."

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, May 27, 1858.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: Yours requesting me to return you the now somewhat noted "Charley Wilson letter," is received, and I herewith return that letter. Political matters just now bear a very mixed and incongruous aspect. For several days the signs have been that Douglas and the President have probably buried the hatchet—Douglas's friends at Washington going over to the President's side, and his friends here and South of here talking as if there never had been any serious difficulty, while the President himself does nothing for his own peculiar friends here. But this morning my partner, Mr. Herndon, receives a letter from Mr. Medill of the *Chicago Tribune,* showing the writer to be in a great alarm at the prospect North of Republicans going over to Douglas, on the idea that Douglas

is going to assume steep Free-soil ground, and furiously assail the Administration on the stump when he comes home. There certainly is a double game being played somehow. Possibly—even probably—Douglas is temporarily deceiving the President in order to crush out the 8th of June convention here. Unless he plays his double game more successfully than we have often seen done, he cannot carry many Republicans North, without at the same time losing a larger number of his old friends South. Let this be confidential.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, May 26, 1860.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: I have several letters from you written since the nomination, but till now have found no moment to say a word by way of answer. Of course I am glad that the nomination is well received by our friends, and I sincerely thank you for so informing me. So far as I can learn, the nominations start well everywhere; and, if they get no back-set, it would seem as if they are going through. I hope you will write often; and as you write more rapidly than I do, don't make your letters so short as mine.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, September 9, 1860.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 5th was received last evening. I was right glad to see it. It contains the freshest "posting" which I now have. It relieved me some from a little anxiety I had about Maine. Jo Medill, on August 30th, wrote

me that Colfax had a letter from Mr. Hamlin saying we were in great danger of losing two members of Congress in Maine, and that your brother would not have exceeding six thousand majority for governor. I addressed you at once, at Galena, asking for your latest information. As you are at Washington, that letter you will receive some time after the Maine election.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, December 13, 1860.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: Your long letter received. Prevent, as far as possible, any of our friends from demoralizing themselves and our cause by entertaining propositions for compromise of any sort on "slavery extension." There is no possible compromise upon it but which puts us under again, and leaves all our work to do over again. Whether it be a Missouri line or Eli Thayer's popular sovereignty, it is all the same. Let either be done, and immediately filibustering and extending slavery recommences. On that point hold firm, as with a chain of steel.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

[*Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, December 21, 1860.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: Last night I received your letter giving an account of your interview with General Scott, and for which I thank you. Please present my respects to the general, and tell him, confidentially, I shall be obliged to him to be as well prepared as he can to either hold or

retake the forts, as the case may require at and after the inauguration.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

ARCHIBALD WILLIAMS.

Washington, April 30, 1848.

Dear Williams: I have not seen in the papers any evidence of a movement to send a delegate from your circuit to the June convention. I wish to say that I think it all-important that a delegate should be sent. Mr. Clay's chance for an election is just no chance at all. He might get New York, and that would have elected in 1844, but it will not now, because he must now, at the least, lose Tennessee, which he had then, and in addition the fifteen new votes of Florida, Texas, Iowa, and Wisconsin. I know our good friend Browning is a great admirer of Mr. Clay, and I therefore fear he is favoring his nomination. If he is, ask him to discard feeling, and try if he can possibly, as a matter of judgment, count the votes necessary to elect him.

In my judgment we can elect nobody but General Taylor; and we cannot elect him without a nomination. Therefore don't fail to send a delegate. Your friend as ever, A. Lincoln.

Washington, June 12, 1848.

Dear Williams: On my return from Philadelphia, where I had been attending the nomination of "Old Rough," [1] I found your letter in a mass of others which had accumulated in my absence. By many, and often, it had been said they would

[1] "Old Rough and Ready" was a popular sobriquet of General Zachary Taylor.

not abide the nomination of Taylor; but since the deed has been done, they are fast falling in, and in my opinion we shall have a most overwhelming, glorious triumph. One unmistakable sign is that all the odds and ends are with us—Barnburners,[1] Native Americans, Tyler men, disappointed office-seeking Locofocos, and the Lord knows what. This is important, if in nothing else, in showing which way the wind blows. Some of the sanguine men have set down all the States as certain for Taylor but Illinois, and it as doubtful. Cannot something be done even in Illinois? Taylor's nomination takes the Locos on the blind side. It turns the war thunder against them. The war is now to them the gallows of Haman, which they built for us, and on which they are doomed to be hanged themselves.

Excuse this short letter. I have so many to write that I cannot devote much time to any one. Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

J. M. Peck.

Washington, May 21, 1848.

Rev. J. M. Peck.

Dear Sir: On last evening I received a copy of the *Belleville Advocate*, with the appearance of having been sent by a private hand; and inasmuch as it contained your oration on the occasion of the celebrating of the battle of Buena Vista, and is post-marked at Rock Spring, I cannot doubt that it is to you I am indebted for this courtesy.

[1] A faction of New York Democrats so called from an eagerness for radical measures, which was likened to the zeal of the Dutchman who burned down his barn to destroy the rats.

I own that finding in the oration a labored justification of the Administration on the origin of the Mexican War disappointed me, because it is the first effort of the kind I have known made by one appearing to me to be intelligent, right-minded, and impartial. It is this disappointment that prompts me to address you briefly on the subject. I do not propose any extended review. I do not quarrel with facts—brief exhibition of facts. I presume it is correct so far as it goes; but it is so brief as to exclude some facts quite as material in my judgment to a just conclusion as any it includes. For instance, you say, "Paredes came into power the last of December, 1845, and from that moment all hopes of avoiding war by negotiation vanished." A little further on, referring to this and other preceding statements, you say, "All this transpired three months before General Taylor marched across the desert of Nueces." These two statements are substantially correct; and you evidently intend to have it inferred that General Taylor was sent across the desert in consequence of the destruction of all hopes of peace, in the overthrow of Herara by Paredes. Is not that the inference you intend? If so, the material fact you have excluded is that General Taylor was ordered to cross the desert on the 13th of January, 1846, and before the news of Herara's fall reached Washington—before the Administration which gave the order had any knowledge that Herara had fallen. Does not this fact cut up your inference by the roots! Must you not find some other excuse for that order, or give up the case? All that part of the three months you speak of which transpired after the 13th of Janu-

ary, was expended in the orders going from Washington to General Taylor, in his preparations for the march, and in the actual march across the desert, and not in the President's waiting to hear the knell of peace in the fall of Herara, or for any other object. All this is to be found in the very documents you seem to have used.

One other thing. Although you say at one point, "I shall briefly exhibit facts, and leave each person to perceive the just application of the principles already laid down to the case in hand," you very soon get to making applications yourself—in one instance as follows: "In view of all the facts, the conviction to my mind is irresistible that the Government of the United States committed no aggression on Mexico." Not in view of all the facts. There are facts which you have kept out of view. It is a fact that the United States army in marching to the Rio Grande marched into a peaceful Mexican settlement, and frightened the inhabitants away from their homes and their growing crops. It is a fact that Fort Brown, opposite Matamoras, was built by that army within a Mexican cotton-field, on which at the time the army reached it a young cotton crop was growing, and which crop was wholly destroyed and the field itself greatly and permanently injured by ditches, embankments, and the like. It is a fact that when the Mexicans captured Captain Thornton and his command, they found and captured them within another Mexican field.

Now I wish to bring these facts to your notice, and to ascertain what is the result of your reflections upon them. If you deny that they

are facts, I think I can furnish proof which shall convince you that you are mistaken. If you admit that they are facts, then I shall be obliged for a reference to any law of language, law of States, law of nations, law of morals, law of religions, any law, human or divine, in which an authority can be found for saying those facts constitute "no aggression."

Possibly you consider those acts too small for notice. Would you venture to so consider them had they been committed by any nation on earth against the humblest of our people? I know you would not. Then I ask, is the precept "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them" obsolete? of no force? of no application?

I shall be pleased if you can find leisure to write me. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

HORACE GREELEY.

Washington, June 27, 1848.

Friend Greeley: In the *Tribune* of yesterday I discovered a little editorial paragraph in relation to Colonel Wentworth of Illinois, in which, in relation to the boundary of Texas, you say: "All Whigs and many Democrats having ever contended it stopped at the Nueces." Now this is a mistake which I dislike to see go uncorrected in a leading Whig paper. Since I have been here, I know a large majority of such Whigs of the House of Representatives as have spoken on the question have not taken that position. Their position, and in my opinion the true position, is that the boundary of Texas extended just so far as American settlements taking part

in her revolution extended; and that as a matter of fact those settlements did extend, at one or two points, beyond the Nueces, but not anywhere near the Rio Grande at any point. The "stupendous desert" between the valleys of those two rivers, and not either river, has been insisted on by the Whigs as the true boundary.

Will you look at this? By putting us in the position of insisting on the line of the Nueces, you put us in a position which, in my opinion, we cannot maintain, and which therefore gives the Democrats an advantage of us. If the degree of arrogance is not too great, may I ask you to examine what I said on this very point in the printed speech I send you.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

S. A. Hurlbut.

On July 10, 1848, Lincoln wrote to Hurlbut from Washington on the prospectus of a new Whig paper, the *Battery*, published at the capital, advising Hurlbut that he was sending him a copy of the paper by the same mail and that he had put down Hurlbut's name as a subscriber, adding, "I will pay myself if you are not satisfied with it."

Springfield, June 1, 1858.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 29th of May is just received. I suppose it is hardly necessary that any expression of preference for U. S. Senator should be given at the county, or other local conventions and meetings. When the Republicans of the whole State get together at the State Convention, the thing will then be thought of, and something will or will not be done, according as the united judgment may dictate.

I do not find Republicans from the old *Demo-*

cratic ranks more inclined to Douglas than those from the old Whig party—indeed I find very little of such inclination in either class; but of that little, the larger portion, falling under my observation, has been among old Whigs. The Republicans from the old Democratic ranks, constantly say to me, "Take care of your old Whigs, and have no fears for us." I am much obliged to you for your letter, and shall be glad to see you at the convention.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

On October 29, 1860, Lincoln wrote from Springfield to Mr. Hurlbut's wife as follows:

My dear Madam: Your good husband, who is making speeches for us in this county, has desired me to write you that he is well, which I take great pleasure in doing. I will add, too, that he is rendering us very efficient service.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Thomas Lincoln.

Washington, December 24, 1848.

My dear Father: Your letter of the 7th was received night before last. I very cheerfully send you the twenty dollars, which sum you say is necessary to save your land from sale. It is singular that you should have forgotten a judgment against you; and it is more singular that the plaintiff should have let you forget it so long, particularly as I suppose you always had property enough to satisfy a judgment of that amount. Before you pay it, it would be well to be sure you have not paid, or at least that you cannot prove that you have paid it.

Give my love to mother and all the connections. Affectionately your son, A. Lincoln.

See also letter to John D. Johnston of January 12, 1851.

WILLIAM SCHOULER.

Washington, February 2, 1849.

Friend Schouler: In these days of Cabinet making, we out West are awake as well as others. The accompanying article is from the *Illinois Journal,* our leading Whig paper; and while it expresses what all the Whigs of the legislatures of Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin have expressed—a preference for Colonel Baker—I think it is fair and magnanimous to the other Western aspirants; and, on the whole, shows by sound argument that the West is not only entitled to, but is in need of, one member of the Cabinet. Desiring to turn public attention in some measure to this point, I shall be obliged if you will give the article a place in your paper, with or without comments, according to your own sense of propriety.

Our acquaintance, though short, has been very cordial, and I therefore venture to hope you will not consider my request presumptuous, whether you shall or shall not think proper to grant it. This I intend as private and confidential.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

W. M. MEREDITH.

Washington, March 9, 1849.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

Dear Sir: Colonel E. D. Baker and myself are the only Whig members of Congress from Illi-

nois—I of the Thirtieth, and he of the Thirty-first. We have reason to think the Whigs of that State hold us responsible, to some extent, for the appointments which may be made of our citizens. We do not know you personally; and our efforts to see you have, so far, been unavailing. I therefore hope I am not obtrusive in saying in this way, for him and myself, that when a citizen of Illinois is to be appointed in your department, to an office either in or out of the State, we most respectfully ask to be heard.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

John M. Clayton.[1]

Washington, March 10, 1849.

Hon. Secretary of State.

Sir: There are several applicants for the office of United States Marshal for the District of Illinois, among the most prominent of whom are Benjamin Bond, Esq., of Carlyle, and ——— Thomas, Esq., of Galena. Mr. Bond I know to be personally every way worthy of the office; and he is very numerously and most respectably recommended. His papers I send to you; and I solicit for his claims a full and fair consideration.

Having said this much, I add that in my individual judgment the appointment of Mr. Thomas would be the better.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

[1] Secretary of State under Taylor, and until July, 1850, under Fillmore. He negotiated the celebrated Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Great Britain.

[*Indorsed on Mr. Bond's papers.*]

In this and the accompanying envelope are the recommendations of about two hundred good citizens of all parts of Illinois, that Benjamin Bond be appointed marshal for that district. They include the names of nearly all our Whigs who now are, or have ever been, members of the State legislature, besides forty-six of the Democratic members of the present legislature, and many other good citizens. I add that from personal knowledge I consider Mr. Bond every way worthy of the office, and qualified to fill it. Holding the individual opinion that the appointment of a different gentleman would be better, I ask especial attention and consideration for his claims, and for the opinions expressed in his favor by those over whom I claim no superiority.

Springfield, Illinois, September 27, 1849.

Hon. J. M. Clayton, Secretary of State.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 17th inst., saying you had received no answer to yours informing me of my appointment as Secretary of Oregon, is received, and surprises me very much. I received that letter, accompanied by the commission, in due course of mail, and answered it two days after, declining the office, and warmly recommending Simeon Francis for it. I have also written you several letters since alluding to the same matter, all of which ought to have reached you before the date of your last letter.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

THOMAS H. EWING.

Springfield, Illinois, April 7, 1849.

Hon. Secretary of the Home Department.

Dear Sir: I recommend that William Butler be appointed Pension Agent for the Illinois agency, when the place shall be vacant. Mr. Hurst, the present incumbent, I believe, has performed the duties very well. He is a decided partisan, and, I believe, expects to be removed. Whether he shall, I submit to the department. This office is not confined to my district, but pertains to the whole State; so that Colonel Baker has an equal right with myself to be heard concerning it.

However, the office is located here; and I think it is not probable that any one would desire to remove from a distance to take it.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, April 7, 1849.

Hon. Secretary of the Home Department.

Dear Sir: I recommend that Walter Davis be appointed Receiver of the Land Office at this place, whenever there shall be a vacancy. I cannot say that Mr. Herndon, the present incumbent, has failed in the proper discharge of any of the duties of the office. He is a very warm partisan, and openly and actively opposed to the election of General Taylor. I also understand that since General Taylor's election, he has received a reappointment from Mr. Polk, his old commission not having expired. Whether this is true the records of the department will show. I may add that the Whigs here almost universally desire his removal.

I give no opinion of my own, but state the facts, and express the hope that the department will act in this as in all other cases on some proper general rule.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

P. S. The land district to which this office belongs is very nearly if not entirely within my district; so that Colonel Baker, the other Whig representative, claims no voice in the appointment.

Springfield, Illinois, April 7, 1849.

Hon. Secretary of the Home Department.

Dear Sir: I recommend that Turner R. King, now of Pekin, Illinois, be appointed Register of the Land Office at this place whenever there shall be a vacancy.

I do not know that Mr. Barret, the present incumbent, has failed in the proper discharge of any of his duties in the office. He is a decided partisan, and openly and actively opposed the election of General Taylor. I understand, too, that since the election of General Taylor, Mr. Barret has received a reappointment from Mr. Polk, his old commission not having expired. Whether this be true, the records of the department will show.

Whether he should be removed I give no opinion, but merely express the wish that the department may act upon some proper general rule, and that Mr. Barret's case may not be made an exception to it.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

P. S. The land district to which this office belongs is very nearly if not entirely within my

district; so that Colonel Baker, the other Whig representative, claims no voice in the appointment.

Springfield, Illinois, May 10, 1849.

Hon. Secretary of the Interior.

Dear Sir: I regret troubling you so often in relation to the land offices here, but I hope you will perceive the necessity of it, and excuse me. On the 7th of April I wrote you recommending Turner R. King for Register, and Walter Davis for Receiver. Subsequently I wrote you that, for a private reason, I had concluded to transpose them. That private reason was the request of an old personal friend who himself desired to be Receiver, but whom I felt it my duty to refuse a recommendation. He said if I would transpose King and Davis he would be satisfied. I thought it a whim, but, anxious to oblige him, I consented. Immediately, he commenced an assault upon King's character, intending, as I suppose, to defeat his appointment, and thereby secure another chance for himself. This double offense of bad faith to me and slander upon a good man is so totally outrageous that I now ask to have King and Davis placed as I originally recommended—that is, King for Register and Davis for Receiver.

An effort is being made now to have Mr. Barret, the present Register, retained. I have already said he has done the duties of the office well, and I now add he is a gentleman in the true sense. Still, he submits to be the instrument of his party to injure us. His high character enables him to do it more effectually. Last year he presided at the convention which

nominated the Democratic candidate for Congress in this district, and afterward ran for the State Senate himself, not desiring the seat, but avowedly to aid and strengthen his party. He made speech after speech with a degree of fierceness and coarseness against General Taylor not quite consistent with his habitually gentlemanly deportment. At least one (and I think more) of those who are now trying to have him retained was himself an applicant for this very office, and, failing to get my recommendation, now takes this turn.

In writing you a third time in relation to these offices, I stated that I supposed charges had been forwarded to you against King, and that I would inquire into the truth of them. I now send you herewith what I suppose will be an ample defense against any such charges. I ask attention to all the papers, but particularly to the letters of Mr. David Mack, and the paper with the long list of names. There is no mistake about King's being a good man. After the unjust assault upon him, and considering the just claims of Tazewell County, as indicated in the letters I inclose you, it would in my opinion be injustice, and withal a blunder, not to appoint him, at least as soon as any one is appointed to either of the offices here.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, June 3, 1849.

Hon. Secretary of the Interior.

Dear Sir: Vandalia, the Receiver's office at which place is the subject of the within, is not in my district; and I have been much perplexed to express any preference between Dr. Stapp and

Mr. Remann. If any one man is better qualified for such an office than all others, Dr. Stapp is that man; still, I believe a large majority of the Whigs in the district prefer Mr. Remann, who also is a good man. Perhaps the papers on file will enable you to judge better than I can. The writers of the within are good men, residing within the Land district.

Your obt. servant, A. Lincoln.

See also letter to the Chicago *Journal*.

Jacob Collamer.

Springfield, Illinois, April 7, 1849.

Hon. Postmaster-General.

Dear Sir: I recommend that Abner Y. Ellis be appointed postmaster at this place, whenever there shall be a vacancy. J. R. Diller, the present incumbent, I cannot say has failed in the proper discharge of any of the duties of the office. He, however, has been an active partisan in opposition to us.

Located at the seat of government of the State, he has been, for part if not the whole of the time he has held the office, a member of the Democratic State Central Committee, signing his name to their addresses and manifestos; and has been, as I understand, reappointed by Mr. Polk since General Taylor's election. These are the facts of the case as I understand them, and I give no opinion of mine as to whether he should or should not be removed. My wish is that the department may adopt some proper general rule for such cases, and that Mr. Diller may not be made an exception to it, one way or the other.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

P. S. This office, with its delivery, is entirely within my district; so that Colonel Baker, the other Whig representative, claims no voice in the appointment.

Executive Mansion, March 12, 1861.

My dear Sir: God help me. It is said I have offended you. I hope you will tell me how.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Collamer replied: "I am entirely unconscious that you have in any way offended me. I cherish no sentiment towards you but that of kindness and confidence." This letter Lincoln returned with the endorsement: "Very glad to know that I haven't. A. Lincoln."

W. B. Warren and Others.[1]

Springfield, Illinois, April 7, 1849.

Gentlemen: In answer to your note concerning the General Land Office I have to say that, if the office could be secured to Illinois by my consent to accept it, and not otherwise, I give that consent. Some months since I gave my word to secure the appointment to that office of Mr. Cyrus Edwards, if in my power, in case of a vacancy; and more recently I stipulated with Colonel Baker that if Mr. Edwards and Colonel J. L. D. Morrison could arrange with each other for one of them to withdraw, we would jointly recommend the other. In relation to these pledges, I must not only be chaste, but above suspicion. If the office shall be tendered to me, I must be permitted to say: "Give it to Mr. Edwards or,

[1] On the urging of a number of leading Illinois Whigs, Lincoln became an applicant for Land Commissioner. Fortunately for his subsequent career, he did not receive the appointment; it fell to Justin Butterfield.

if so agreed by them, to Colonel Morrison, and I decline it; if not, I accept." With this understanding you are at liberty to procure me the offer of the appointment if you can; and I shall feel complimented by your effort, and still more by its success. It should not be overlooked that Colonel Baker's position entitles him to a large share of control in this matter; however, one of your number, Colonel Warren, knows that Baker has at all times been ready to recommend me, if I would consent. It must also be understood that if at any time previous to an appointment being made I shall learn that Mr. Edwards and Colonel Morrison have agreed, I shall at once carry out my stipulation with Colonel Baker as above stated. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

——— THOMPSON.

Springfield, April 25, 1849.

Dear Thompson: A tirade is still kept up against me here for recommending T. R. King. This morning it is openly avowed that my supposed influence at Washington shall be broken down generally, and King's prospects defeated in particular. Now, what I have done in this matter I have done at the request of you and some other friends in Tazewell; and I therefore ask you to either admit it is wrong, or come forward and sustain me. If the truth will permit, I propose that you sustain me in the following manner: copy the inclosed scrap in your own handwriting, and get everybody (not three or four, but three or four hundred) to sign it, and then send it to me. Also have six, eight, or ten of our best-known Whig friends there to write to

me individual letters, stating the truth in this matter as they understand it. Don't neglect or delay in the matter. I understand information of an indictment having been found against him about three years ago, for gaming or keeping a gaming-house, has been sent to the department. I shall try to take care of it at the department till your action can be had and forwarded on.

Yours, as ever, A. Lincoln.

J. M. Lucas.

Springfield, Illinois, April 25, 1849.

J. M. Lucas, Esq.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 15th is just received. Like you, I fear the Land Office is not going as it should; but I know nothing I can do. In my letter written three days ago, I told you the department understands my wishes. As to Butterfield, he is my personal friend, and is qualified to do the duties of the office; but of the quite one hundred Illinoisans equally well qualified, I do not know one with less claims to it. In the first place, what you say about Lisle Smith is the first intimation I have had of any one man in Illinois desiring Butterfield to have an office. Now, I think if anything be given the State, it should be so given as to gratify our friends, and to stimulate them to future exertions. As to Mr. Clay having recommended him, that is *quid pro quo*. He fought for Mr. Clay against General Taylor to the bitter end, as I understand; and I do not believe I misunderstand. Lisle Smith, too, was a Clay delegate at Philadelphia, and against my most earnest entreaties took the lead in filling two vacancies from my own dis-

trict with Clay men. It will now mortify me deeply if General Taylor's Administration shall trample all my wishes in the dust merely to gratify these men.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, May 10, 1858.

J. M. Lucas, Esq.

My dear Sir: Your long and kind letter was received to-day. It came upon me as an agreeable old acquaintance. Politically speaking, there is a curious state of things here. The impulse of almost every Democrat is to stick to Douglas; but it horrifies them to have to follow him out of the Democratic party.[1] A good many are annoyed that he did not go for the English contrivance,[2] and thus heal the breach. They begin to think there is a "negro in the fence"—that Douglas really wants to have a fuss with the President;—that sticks in their throats.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, February 9, 1860.

J. M. Lucas, Esq.

My dear Sir: Your late letter, suggesting, among other things, that I might aid your election as postmaster, by writing to Mr. Burlingame, was duly received the day the Speaker was elected; so that I had no hope a letter of mine could reach Mr. B. before your case would be

[1] President Buchanan had read Douglas out of the party because of the Senator's opposition to the Lecompton Constitution for Kansas, which contravened Douglas's pet doctrine of "popular sovereignty."

[2] William H. English, member of Congress from Indiana, proposed a compromise measure between the propositions of Buchanan and Douglas on the admission of Kansas, which became a law after heated controversy.

decided, as it turned out in fact it could not. We are all much gratified here to see you are elected. We consider you our peculiar friend at court.

I shall be glad to receive a letter from you at any time you can find leisure to write one.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Orville Paddock.

[*Indorsement.*]

I have already recommended William S. Wallace for Pension Agent at this place [Springfield, Ill.]. It is, however, due the truth to say that Orville Paddock, above recommended, is in every way qualified for the office, and that the persons recommending him are of our business men and best Whig citizens.

Duff Green.

Springfield, Illinois, May 18, 1849.

Dear General: I learn from Washington that a man by the name of Butterfield will probably be appointed Commissioner of the General Land Office. This ought not to be. That is about the only crumb of patronage which Illinois expects; and I am sure the mass of General Taylor's friends here would quite as lief see it go east of the Alleghanies, or west of the Rocky Mountains, as into that man's hands. They are already sore on the subject of his getting office. In the great contest of 1840 he was not seen or heard of; but when the victory came, three or four old drones, including him, got all the valuable offices, through what influence no one has yet been able to tell.

I believe the only time he has been very active was last spring a year ago, in opposition to General Taylor's nomination.

Now, cannot you get the ear of General Taylor? Ewing is for Butterfield, and therefore he must be avoided. Preston, I think, will favor you. Mr. Edwards has written me offering to decline, but I advised him not to do so. Some kind friends think I ought to be an applicant, but I am for Mr. Edwards. Try to defeat Butterfield, and in doing so use Mr. Edwards, J. L. D. Morrison, or myself, whichever you can to best advantage. Write me, and let this be confidential. A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, December 28, 1860.

General Duff Green.

My dear Sir: I do not desire any amendment of the Constitution. Recognizing, however, that questions of such amendment rightfully belong to the American people, I should not feel justified nor inclined to withhold from them, if I could, a fair opportunity of expressing their will thereon through either of the modes prescribed in the instrument.

In addition I declare that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and I denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as the gravest of crimes.

I am greatly averse to writing anything for

the public at this time; and I consent to the publication of this only upon the condition that six of the twelve United States senators for the States of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, and Texas shall sign their names to what is written on this sheet below my name, and allow the whole to be published together.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

We recommend to the people of the States we represent respectively, to suspend all action for dismemberment of the Union, at least until some act deemed to be violative of our rights shall be done by the incoming Administration.[1]

JOSEPH GILLESPIE.

Springfield, Ill., May 19, 1849.

Dear Gillespie: Butterfield will be Commissioner of the Gen'l Land Office, unless prevented by strong and speedy effort. Ewing is for him, and he is only not appointed yet because Old Zach. hangs fire. I have reliable information of this. Now, if you agree with me that his appointment would dissatisfy rather than gratify the Whigs of this State, that it would slacken their energies in future contests, that his appointment in '41 is an old sore with them which they will not patiently have reopened—in a word that his appointment now would be a fatal blunder to the Administration and our political men, here in Illinois, write Mr. Crittenden [2] to that effect. He can control the matter. Were you to write

[1] See letter to Lyman Trumbull, December 28, 1860.

[2] John J. Crittenden, Senator from Kentucky; see letters to him.

Ewing I fear the President would never hear of your letter. This may be mere suspicion. You might write directly to Old Zach. You will be the best judge of the propriety of that. Not a moment's time is to be lost.

Let this be confidential except with Mr. Edwards and a few others whom you know I would trust just as I do you.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, July 13, 1849.

Dear Gillespie: Mr. Edwards is unquestionably offended with me in connection with the matter of the General Land Office. He wrote a letter against me which was filed at the department.

The better part of one's life consists of his friendships; and, of them, mine with Mr. Edwards was one of the most cherished. I have not been false to it. At a word I could have had the office any time before the department was committed to Mr. Butterfield—at least Mr. Ewing and the President say as much. That word I forbore to speak, partly for other reasons, but chiefly for Mr. Edwards' sake—losing the office that he might gain it, I was always for; but to lose his *friendship*, by the effort for him, would oppress me very much, were I not sustained by the utmost consciousness of rectitude. I first determined to be an applicant, unconditionally, on the 2nd of June; and I did so then upon being informed by a telegraphic despatch that the question was narrowed down to Mr. B—— and myself, and that the Cabinet had postponed the appointment three weeks, for my benefit. Not doubting that Mr. Edwards was wholly

out of the question I, nevertheless, would not then have become an applicant had I supposed he would thereby be brought to suspect me of treachery to him. Two or three days afterwards a conversation with Levi Davis convinced me Mr. Edwards was dissatisfied; but I was then too far in to get out. His own letter, written on the 25th of April, after I had fully informed him of all that had passed, up to within a few days of that time, gave assurance I had that entire confidence from him, which I felt my uniform and strong friendship for him entitled me to. Among other things it says "whatever course your judgment may dictate as proper to be pursued, shall never be excepted to by me." I also had had a letter from Washington, saying Chambers, of the Republic, had brought a rumor then, that Mr. E—— had declined in my favor, which rumor I judged came from Mr. E—— himself, as I had not then breathed of his letter to any living creature. In saying I had never, before the 22nd of June, determined to be an applicant, *unconditionally*, I mean to admit that, before then, I had said substantially I would take the office rather than it should be lost to the State, or given to one in the State whom the Whigs did not want; but I aver that in every instance in which I spoke of myself, I intended to keep, and now believe I did keep, Mr. E—— above myself. Mr. Edwards' first suspicion was that I had allowed Baker to overreach me, as his friend in behalf of Don Morrison. I knew this was a mistake; and the result has proved it. I understand his view now is, that if I had gone to open war with Baker I could have ridden him down, and had the thing all my own way. I

believe no such thing. With Baker and some strong man from the Military tract & elsewhere for Morrison; and we and some strong man from the Wabash & elsewhere for Mr. E——, it was not possible for either to succeed. I *believed* this in March, and I *know* it now. The only thing which gave either any chance was the very thing Baker & I proposed—an adjustment with themselves.

You may wish to know how Butterfield finally beat me. I can not tell you particulars, now, but will, when I see you. In the meantime let it be understood I am not greatly dissatisfied—I wish the offer had been so bestowed as to encourage our friends in future contests, and I regret exceedingly Mr. Edwards' feelings towards me. These two things away, I should have no regrets —at least I think I would not.

Write me soon.

Your friend, as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, December 1, 1854.

J. Gillespie, Esq.

My dear Sir: I have really got it into my head to try to be United States Senator, and, if I could have your support, my chances would be reasonably good. But I know, and acknowledge, that you have as just claims to the place as I have; and therefore I cannot ask you to yield to me, if you are thinking of becoming a candidate yourself. If, however, you are not, then I should like to be remembered affectionately by you; and also to have you make a mark for me with the Anti-Nebraska members, down your way.

If you know, and have no objection to tell,

let me know whether Trumbull intends to make a push. If he does, I suppose the two men in St. Clair, and one, or both, in Madison, will be for him. We have the legislature, clearly enough, on joint ballot, but the Senate is very close, and Cullom told me to-day that the Nebraska men will stave off the election, if they can. Even if we get into joint vote, we shall have difficulty to unite our forces. Please write me, and let this be confidential. Your friend, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

On January 19, 1858, Lincoln wrote from Springfield to Gillespie on legal matters, requesting a consultation. On February 7, 1858, Lincoln wrote him about an adverse decision in a case in which they were interested, saying:

The court gave no reason for the decision; but Peck tells me confidentially that they were unanimous in the opinion that even if the Governor had signed the bill purposely, he had the right to scratch his name off, so long as the bill remained in his custody and control.

Springfield, July 16, 1858.

Hon. Joseph Gillespie.

My dear Sir: I write this to say that from the specimens of Douglas Democracy we occasionally see here from Madison, we learn that they are making very confident calculation of beating you, and your friends for the lower house, in that county. They offer to bet upon it. Billings and Job, respectively, have been up here, and were each, as I learn, talking largely about it. If they do so, it can only be done by carrying the Fillmore men of 1856 very differ-

ently from what they seem to be doing in the other party. Below is the vote of 1856, in your district:

Counties.	Buchanan.	Frémont.	Fillmore.
Bond	607	153	659
Madison	1,451	1,111	1,658
Montgomery	992	162	686
	3,050	1,426	3,003

By this you will see, if you go through the calculation, that if *they* get one-quarter of the Fillmore votes, and *you* three-quarters, they will beat you 125 votes. If they get one-fifth, and you four-fifths, you beat them 179. In Madison, alone, if our friends get 1,000 of the Fillmore votes and their opponents the remainder, 658, we win by just two votes.

This shows the whole field, on the basis of the election of 1856.

Whether, since then, any Buchanan, or Frémonters, have shifted ground, and how the majority of *new* votes will go, you can judge better than I.

Of course you, on the ground, can better determine your line of tactics than any one off the ground; but it behooves you to be wide awake, and actively working.

Don't neglect it; and write me at your first leisure. Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, July 25, 1858.

Hon. J. Gillespie.

My dear Sir: Your doleful letter of the 18th was received on my return from Chicago last night. I do hope you are worse scared than

hurt, though you ought to know best. We must not lose the district. We must make a job of it, and save it. Lay hold of the proper agencies, and secure all the Americans you can, at once. I do hope, on closer inspection, you will find they are not half gone. Make a little test. Run down one of the poll-books of the Edwardsville precinct, and take the first hundred known American names. Then quietly ascertain how many of them are actually going for Douglas. I think you will find less than fifty. But even if you find fifty, make sure of the other fifty—that is, make sure of all you can, at all events. We will set other agencies to work which shall compensate for the loss of a good many Americans. Don't fail to check the stampede at once. Trumbull, I think, will be with you before long.

There is much he cannot do, and *some* he can. I have reason to hope there will be other help of an appropriate kind. Write me again.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

E. Embree.

[*Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, May 25, 1849.

Hon. E. Embree.

Dear Sir: I am about to ask a favor of you—one which I hope will not cost you much. I understand the General Land Office is about to be given to Illinois, and that Mr. Ewing desires Justin Butterfield, of Chicago, to be the man. I give you my word, the appointment of Mr. Butterfield will be an egregious political blunder. It will give offense to the whole Whig party

here, and be worse than a dead loss to the Administration of so much of its patronage. Now, if you can conscientiously do so, I wish you to write General Taylor at once, saying that either I, or the man I recommend, should in your opinion be appointed to that office, if any one from Illinois shall be. I restrict my request to Illinois because you may have a man from your own State, and I do not ask to interfere with that.

Your friend as ever, A. Lincoln.

Nathaniel Pope.

Springfield, June 8, 1849.

Hon. N. Pope.

Dear Sir: I do not know that it would, but I can well enough conceive it might, embarrass you to now give a letter recommending me for the General Land Office. Could you not, however, without embarrassment or any impropriety, so far vindicate the truth of history as to briefly state to me, in a letter, what you did say to me last spring on my arrival here from Washington, in relation to my becoming an applicant for that office? Having at last concluded to be an applicant, I have thought it is perhaps due me to be enabled to show the influences which brought me to the conclusion, and of which influences the wishes and opinions you expressed were not the least. Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Judge Pope died January 23, 1850. On June 3, 1850, Lincoln, as a member of the bar in Judge Pope's district, moved an adjournment of court in respect for his memory. Lincoln was appointed one of a committee

to prepare resolutions upon the matter. It is undoubtedly Lincoln's language in which the resolutions recited the bar's "high veneration for his [Judge Pope's] memory, profound respect for his ability, great experience, and learning as a judge, and cherishing recollections of his many virtues, public and private, his earnest simplicity of character and unostentatious deportment both in his public and private relations."

William Fithian.

On September 14, 1849, Lincoln wrote from Springfield to Dr. Fithian of Danville, Ill., a letter upon legal business, at the end of which he said:

I can well enough understand and appreciate your suggestions about the Land Office at Danville; but in my present condition I can do nothing.

Bloomington, September 3, 1858.

Dr. William Fithian, Danville, Ill.

Dear Doctor: Yours of the 1st was received this morning, as also one from Mr. Harmon, and one from Hiram Beckwith on the same subject. You will see by the *Journal* that I have appointed to speak at Danville on the 22nd of September, the day after Douglas speaks there. My recent experience shows that speaking at the same place the next day after D. is the very thing—it is, in fact, a concluding speech on him. Please show this to Messrs. Harmon and Beckwith; and tell them they must excuse me from writing separate letters to them.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

P. S.—Give full notice to all surrounding country. A. L.

JOHN ADDISON.

Springfield, Illinois, September 27, 1849.
John Addison, Esq.

My dear Sir: Your letter is received. I cannot but be grateful to you and all other friends who have interested themselves in having the governorship of Oregon offered to me; but on as much reflection as I have had time to give the subject, I cannot consent to accept it. I have an ever abiding wish to serve you; but as to the secretaryship, I have already recommended our friend Simeon Francis, of the *Journal*. Please present my respects to G. T. M. Davis generally, and my thanks especially for his kindness in the Oregon matter. Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

EDITOR OF THE CHICAGO *Journal*.

Springfield, November 21, 1849.
Editor of the Chicago *Journal*.

Dear Sir: Some person, probably yourself, has sent me the number of your paper containing an extract of a supposed speech of Mr. Linder, together with your editorial comments. As my name is mentioned both in the speech and in the comments, and as my attention is directed to the article by a special mark in the paper sent me, it is perhaps expected that I should take some notice of it. I have to say, then, that I was absent from before the commencement till after the close of the late session of the legislature, and that the fact of such a speech having been delivered never came to my knowledge till I saw a notice of your article in the *Illinois*

Journal, one day before your paper reached me. Had the intention of any Whig to deliver such a speech been known to me, I should, to the utmost of my ability, have endeavored to prevent it. When Mr. Butterfield was appointed Commissioner of the Land Office, I expected him to be an able and faithful officer, and nothing has since come to my knowledge disappointing that expectation. As to Mr. Ewing, his position has been one of great difficulty. I believe him, too, to be an able and faithful officer. A more intimate acquaintance with him would probably change the views of most of those who have complained of him.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

In the Illinois legislature, Mr. Linder had said:

". . . He should speak not as a disappointed politician, but as an independent working Whig, who had never applied for an office in his life; and the individual of whom he desired to speak was the Hon. Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, minister of the Home Department—a man who was unsuited to wield the immense patronage placed in his hands, from the fact that he was hostile to all that was popular, having no sympathies with the people, and the people no sympathies with him; the man who disposed of the offices and honors at his disposal more like a prince than the minister and servant of a republican people. I speak plainly, sir, for I want what I say to be published, that it may reach the individual for whom it is intended—the man who could disregard the almost unanimous wish of the people—the Whig people of Illinois—and overlook the claims of such men as Lincoln, Edwards, and Morrison, and appoint a man known as an anti-war federalist of 1812, and one who avails himself of every opportunity to express his contempt of the people—a man who could not, as against any one of his competitors, have obtained one twentieth of the votes of Illinois. (I refer, sir, to Justin Butterfield, Commissioner of the General Land Office.) Such a man as Ewing has no right to rule the cabinet

of a republican president. He is universally odious, and stinks in the nostrils of the nation. He is as a lump of ice, an unfeeling, unsympathizing aristocrat, a rough, imperious, uncouth, and unamiable man. Such a minister, in a four years' administration, would ruin the popularity of forty presidents and as many heroes. Sir, is it wonderful that the popular elections are turning against us? I am not at all surprised at it. If General Taylor retains him two years longer in his cabinet, he will find himself without a corporal's guard in the popular branch of our national legislature."

UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT.

Springfield, December 15, 1849.

———, Esq.

Dear Sir: On my return from Kentucky, I found your letter of the 7th of November, and have delayed answering it till now, for the reason I now briefly state. From the beginning of our acquaintance I have felt the greatest kindness for you, and had supposed it was reciprocated on your part. Last summer, under circumstances which I mentioned to you, I was painfully constrained to withhold a recommendation which you desired, and shortly afterward I learned, in such a way as to believe it, that you were indulging in open abuse of me. Of course my feelings were wounded. On receiving your last letter, the question occurred whether you were attempting to use me at the same time you would injure me, or whether you might not have been misrepresented to me. If the former, I ought not to answer you; if the latter, I ought; and so I have remained in suspense. I now inclose you the letter, which you may use if you see fit. A. Lincoln.

O. H. Browning.

Orville H. Browning, lawyer, of Quincy, Ill. He had served in the State Legislature with Lincoln. Later, he was associated with Lincoln and others in founding the Republican party in Illinois. He was appointed to the U. S. Senate in 1861 on the death of Stephen A. Douglas, and served till 1863. He was Secretary of the Interior and Attorney-General under President Johnson.

Springfield, January 29, 1850.

Dear Browning: Yours of the 26th was received last night. As you anticipate, I had already recommended Judge Logan for District Judge, and more, I had already said all I could consistently with this, in favor of Judge Lockwood. I certainly esteem Mr. Bushnell as being every way worthy of such an office. In moral character, and legal attainments, he is entirely sound and sufficient. If you think this letter can be used to any advantage, you are at liberty to so use it. What I have to say, I say most cheerfully; and more I could not now say consistently. Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, December 15, 1856.

O. H. Browning.

. . . It has been suggested by some of our friends that during the session of the legislature here this winter, the Republicans ought to get up a sort of party State address; and again it has been suggested that you could draw up such a thing as well if not better than any of us. Think about it. Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

JOHN D. JOHNSTON.[1]

Springfield, February 23, 1850.

Dear Brother: Your letter about a mail contract was received yesterday. I have made out a bid for you at $120, guaranteed it myself, got our P. M. here to certify it, and send it on. Your former letter, concerning some man's claim for a pension, was also received. I had the claim examined by those who are practised in such matters, and they decide he cannot get a pension.

As you make no mention of it, I suppose you had not learned that we lost our little boy. He was sick fifteen days, and died in the morning of the first day of this month. It was not our first, but our second child. We miss him very much. Your brother, in haste, A. Lincoln.

January 2, 1851.

Dear Johnston: Your request for eighty dollars I do not think it best to comply with now. At the various times when I have helped you a little you have said to me, "We can get along very well now"; but in a very short time I find you in the same difficulty again. Now, this can only happen by some defect in your conduct. What that defect is, I think I know. You are not lazy, and still you are an idler. I doubt whether, since I saw you, you have done a good whole day's work in any one day. You do not very much dislike to work, and still you do not work much, merely because it does not seem to you that you could get much for it. This habit of uselessly wasting time is the whole difficulty;

[1] The stepbrother of Lincoln.

it is vastly important to you, and still more so to your children, that you should break the habit. It is more important to them, because they have longer to live, and can keep out of an idle habit before they are in it, easier than they can get out after they are in.

You are now in need of some money; and what I propose is, that you shall go to work, "tooth and nail," for somebody who will give you money for it. Let father and your boys take charge of your things at home, prepare for a crop, and make the crop, and you go to work for the best money wages, or in discharge of any debt you owe, that you can get; and to secure you a fair reward for your labor, I now promise you, that for every dollar you will, between this and the first of May, get for your own labor, either in money or as your own indebtedness, I will then give you one other dollar. By this, if you hire yourself at ten dollars a month, from me you will get ten more, making twenty dollars a month for your work. In this I do not mean you shall go off to St. Louis, or the lead mines, or the gold mines in California, but I mean for you to go at it for the best wages you can get close to home in Coles County. Now, if you will do this, you will be soon out of debt, and, what is better, you will have a habit that will keep you from getting in debt again. But if I should now clear you out of debt, next year you would be just as deep in as ever. You say you would almost give your place in heaven for seventy or eighty dollars. Then you value your place in heaven very cheap, for I am sure you can, with the offer I make, get the seventy or eighty dollars for four or five months' work.

You say if I will furnish you the money you will deed me the land, and, if you don't pay the money back, you will deliver possession. Nonsense! If you can't now live with the land, how will you then live without it? You have always been kind to me, and I do not mean to be unkind to you. On the contrary, if you will but follow my advice, you will find it worth more than eighty times eighty dollars to you.

Affectionately your brother, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, January 12, 1851.

Dear Brother: On the day before yesterday I received a letter from Harriet,[1] written at Greenup. She says she has just returned from your house, and that father is very low and will hardly recover. She also says you have written me two letters, and that although you do not expect me to come now, you wonder that I do not write.

I received both your letters, and although I have not answered them, it is not because I have forgotten them, or been uninterested about them, but because it appeared to me that I could write nothing which would do any good. You already know I desire that neither father nor mother shall be in want of any comfort, either in health or sickness, while they live; and I feel sure you have not failed to use my name, if necessary, to procure a doctor, or anything else for father in his present sickness. My business is such that I could hardly leave home now, if it was not as it is, that my own wife is sick-a-bed. (It is a case of baby-sickness, and I suppose is not dan-

[1] Mrs. Harriet Chapman; see postscript of letter to Johnston of November 4, 1851.

gerous.) I sincerely hope father may recover his health, but at all events, tell him to remember to call upon and confide in our great and good and merciful Maker, who will not turn away from him in any extremity. He notes the fall of a sparrow, and numbers the hairs of our heads, and He will not forget the dying man who puts his trust in Him. Say to him that if we could meet now it is doubtful whether it would not be more painful than pleasant, but that if it be his lot to go now, he will soon have a joyous meeting with many loved ones gone before, and where the rest of us, through the help of God, hope ere long to join them.

Write to me again when you receive this.

Affectionately, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, August 31, 1851.

Dear Brother: Inclosed is the deed for the land. We are all well, and have nothing in the way of news. We have had no cholera here for about two weeks. Give my love to all, and especially to mother.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Shelbyville, November 4, 1851.

Dear Brother: When I came into Charleston day before yesterday, I learned that you are anxious to sell the land where you live and move to Missouri. I have been thinking of this ever since, and cannot but think such a notion is utterly foolish. What can you do in Missouri better than here? Is the land any richer? Can you there, any more than here, raise corn and wheat and oats without work? Will anybody there, any more than here, do your work for you? If

you intend to go to work, there is no better place than right where you are; if you do not intend to go to work, you cannot get along anywhere. Squirming and crawling about from place to place can do no good. You have raised no crop this year; and what you really want is to sell the land, get the money, and spend it. Part with the land you have, and, my life upon it, you will never after own a spot big enough to bury you in. Half you will get for the land you will spend in moving to Missouri, and the other half you will eat, drink, and wear out, and no foot of land will be bought. Now, I feel it my duty to have no hand in such a piece of foolery. I feel that it is so even on your own account, and particularly on mother's account. The eastern forty acres I intend to keep for mother while she lives; if you will not cultivate it, it will rent for enough to support her—at least, it will rent for something. Her dower in the other two forties she can let you have, and no thanks to me. Now, do not misunderstand this letter; I do not write it in any unkindness. I write it in order, if possible, to get you to face the truth, which truth is, you are destitute because you have idled away all your time. Your thousand pretenses for not getting along better are all nonsense; they deceive nobody but yourself. Go to work is the only cure for your case.

A word to mother.[1] Chapman tells me he wants you to go and live with him. If I were you I would try it awhile. If you get tired of it (as I think you will not), you can return to your own home. Chapman feels very kindly to

[1] Sarah Bush Lincoln, second wife of Thomas Lincoln, who had just died.

you, and I have no doubt he will make your situation very pleasant.

Sincerely your son, A. Lincoln.

Shelbyville, November 9, 1851.

Dear Brother: When I wrote you before, I had not received your letter. I still think as I did, but if the land can be sold so that I get three hundred dollars to put to interest for mother, I will not object, if she does not. But before I will make a deed, the money must be had, or secured beyond all doubt, at ten per cent.

As to Abram,[1] I do not want him, on my own account; but I understand he wants to live with me, so that he can go to school and get a fair start in the world, which I very much wish him to have. When I reach home, if I can make it convenient to take, I will take him, provided there is no mistake between us as to the object and terms of my taking him.

In haste, as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, November 25, 1851.

John D. Johnston.

Dear Brother: Your letter of the 22d is just received. Your proposal about selling the east forty acres of land is all that I want or could claim for *myself*; but I am not satisfied with it on *Mother's* account—I want her to have her living, and I feel that it is my duty, to some extent, to see that she is not wronged—She had a right of Dower (that is, the use of one-third for life) in the other two forties; but, it seems, she has already let you take that, hook and line—

[1] Son of John D. Johnston.

She now has the use of the whole of the east forty, as long as she lives; and if it be sold, of course, she is entitled to the interest on *all* the money it brings, as long as she lives; but you propose to sell it for three hundred dollars, take one hundred away with you, and leave her two hundred at 8 per cent., making her the *enormous* sum of 16 dollars a year—Now, if you are satisfied with treating her in that way, I am not—It is true, that you are to *have* that forty for two hundred dollars, at mother's death; but you are not to have it *before*. I am confident that land can be made to produce for mother at least $30 a year, and I cannot, to oblige any living person, consent that she shall be put on an allowance of sixteen dollars a year.

Yours, etc., A. Lincoln.

Charles Hoyt.

Springfield, January 11, 1851.

C. Hoyt, Esq.

My dear Sir: Our case is decided against us. The decision was announced this morning. Very sorry, but there is no help. . . . We occupied the whole day, I using the large part. I made every point and used every authority sent me by yourself and by Mr. Goodrich; and in addition all the points I could think of and all the authorities I could find myself. . . . I do not think I could ever have argued the case better than I did. I did nothing else, but prepare *to* argue and *argue* this case, from Friday morning till Monday evening. Very sorry for the result; but I do not think it could have been prevented. Your friend as ever, A. Lincoln.

On March 28, 1851, Lincoln wrote from Springfield to Messrs. Browning and Bushnell that he had arranged "to use the Hoyt evidence in other cases."

Clinton, De Witt Co., November 10, 1854.

Mr. Charles Hoyt.

Dear Sir: You used to express a good deal of partiality for me, and if you are still so, now is the time. Some friends here are really for me, for the U. S. Senate, and I should be very grateful if you could make a mark for me among your members. Please write me at all events giving me the names, post-offices, and *"political position"* of members round about you. Direct to Springfield.

Let this be confidential.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Joshua R. Stanford.

On May 12, 1853, Lincoln wrote from Pekin, Ill., a letter on legal business to Mr. Stanford, a "total stranger," who was liable to be a witness in one of Lincoln's cases, begging him to fully refresh his recollection by any means in his power before the time he might be called on to testify. "If persons should come to you," said Lincoln, "and show a disposition to pump you on the subject, it may be no more than prudent to remember that it may be possible they design to misrepresent you and embarrass the real testimony you may ultimately give."

M. Brayman.

On October 3, 1853, Lincoln wrote from Pekin, Ill., to M. Brayman, saying that: "Neither the county of McLean nor any one on its behalf has yet made any engagement with me in relation to its suit with the Illinois Central Railroad on the subject of taxation. I am now free to make an engagement for the road, and if you think of it you may 'count me in.'"

JESSE LINCOLN.

Springfield, Illinois, April 1, 1854.

My dear Sir: On yesterday I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 16th of March. From what you say there can be no doubt that you and I are of the same family. The history of your family, as you give it, is precisely what I have always heard, and partly know, of my own. As you have supposed, I am the grandson of your uncle Abraham; and the story of his death by the Indians, and of Uncle Mordecai, then fourteen years old, killing one of the Indians, is the legend more strongly than all others imprinted upon my mind and memory. I am the son of grandfather's youngest son, Thomas. I have often heard my father speak of his uncle Isaac residing at Watauga (I think), near where the then States of Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee join—you seem now to be some hundred miles or so west of that. I often saw Uncle Mordecai, and Uncle Josiah but once in my life; but I never resided near either of them. Uncle Mordecai died in 1831 or 2, in Hancock County, Illinois, where he had then recently removed from Kentucky, and where his children had also removed, and still reside, as I understand. Whether Uncle Josiah is dead or living, I cannot tell, not having heard from him for more than twenty years. When I last heard of him he was living on Big Blue River, in Indiana (Harrison Co., I think), and where he had resided ever since before the beginning of my recollection. My father (Thomas) died the 17th of January, 1851, in Coles County, Illinois, where he had resided twenty years. I am his only

child. I have resided here, and hereabouts, twenty-three years. I am forty-five years of age, and have a wife and three children, the oldest eleven years. My wife was born and raised at Lexington, Kentucky; and my connection with her has sometimes taken me there, where I have heard the older people of her relations speak of your uncle Thomas and his family. He is dead long ago, and his descendants have gone to some part of Missouri, as I recollect what I was told. When I was at Washington in 1848, I got up a correspondence with David Lincoln, residing at Sparta, Rockingham County, Virginia, who, like yourself, was a first cousin of my father; but I forget, if he informed me, which of my grandfather's brothers was his father. With Col. Crozier, of whom you speak, I formed quite an intimate acquaintance, for a short one, while at Washington; and when you meet him again I will thank you to present him my respects. Your present Governor, Andrew Johnson, was also at Washington while I was; and he told me of there being people of the name of Lincoln in Carter County, I think. I can no longer claim to be a young man myself; but I infer that, as you are of the same generation as my father, you are some older. I shall be very glad to hear from you again.

Very truly your relative, A. Lincoln.

J. M. PALMER.

[*Confidential.*]

Springfield, September 7, 1854.

Hon. J. M. Palmer.

Dear Sir: You know how anxious I am that this Nebraska measure shall be rebuked and condemned everywhere. Of course I hope something from your position, yet I do not expect you to do anything which may be wrong in your own judgment; nor would I have you do anything personally injurious to yourself—You are, and always have been, *honestly* and *sincerely,* a democrat; and I know how painful it must be to an honest, sincere man to be urged by his party to the support of a measure, which in his conscience he believes to be wrong—You have had a severe struggle with yourself, and you have determined *not* to swallow the *wrong*—Is it not just to yourself that you should, in a few public speeches, state your reasons, and thus justify yourself? I wish you would; and yet I say, "Don't do it, if you think it will injure you" —You may have given your word to vote for Major Harris; and if so, of course you will stick to it—But allow me to suggest that you should avoid speaking of this, for it probably would induce some of your friends, in like manner, to cast their votes—You understand—And now let me beg your pardon for obtruding this letter upon you, to whom I have ever been opposed in politics—Had your party omitted to make Nebraska a test of party fidelity, you probably would have been the Democratic candidate for Congress in the district—You deserved it, and I believe it would have been given you—In that

case I should have been quite happy that Nebraska was to be rebuked at all events—I still should have voted for the Whig candidate; but I should have made no speeches, written no letters; and you would have been elected by at least a thousand majority.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

T. J. Henderson.

Springfield, November 27, 1854.

T. J. Henderson, Esq.

My dear Sir: It has come round that a Whig may, by possibility, be elected to the United States Senate; and I want the chance of being the man. You are a member of the legislature, and have a vote to give. Think it over, and see whether you can do better than go for me. Write me at all events, and let this be confidential. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, December 15, 1854.

Hon. T. J. Henderson.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 11th was received last night, and for which I thank you. Of course, I prefer myself to all others; yet it is neither in my heart nor my conscience to say I am any better man than Mr. Williams. We shall have a terrible struggle with our adversaries. They are desperate, and bent on desperate deeds. I accidentally learned of one of the leaders here writing to a member south of here, in about the following language:

> We are beaten. They have a clear majority of at least nine on joint ballot. They outnumber us, but we must outmanage them. Douglas must be sustained.

We must elect the Speaker; and we must elect a Nebraska United States senator, or elect none at all.

Similar letters, no doubt, are written to every Nebraska member. Be considering how we can best meet, and foil, and beat them.

I send you by this mail a copy of my Peoria speech. You may have seen it before, or you may not think it worth seeing now. Do not speak of the Nebraska letter mentioned above; I do not wish it to become public that I receive such information. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Ichabod Codding.

Springfield, November 27, 1854.

I. Codding, Esq.

Dear Sir: Your note of the 13th requesting my attendance at the Republican State Central Committee, on the 17th instant at Chicago, was, owing to my absence from home, received on the evening of that day (17th) only. While I have pen in hand allow me to say I have been perplexed some to understand why my name was placed on that committee. I was not consulted on the subject, nor was I apprised of the appointment until I discovered it by accident two or three weeks afterward. I suppose my opposition to the principle of slavery is as strong as that of any member of the Republican party; but I have also supposed that the extent to which I feel authorized to carry that opposition, practically, was not at all satisfactory to that party. The leading men who organized that party were present on the 4th of October at the discussion between Douglas and myself at Springfield, and had full opportunity to not misunderstand my

position. Do I misunderstand them? Please write and inform me.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

John McLean.

Springfield, Illinois, December 6, 1854.

Hon. Justice McLean.

Sir: I understand it is in contemplation to displace the present clerk, and appoint a new one, for the Circuit and District Courts of Illinois. I am very friendly to the present incumbent, and both for his own sake and that of his family, I wish him to be retained so long as it is possible for the court to do so. In the contingency of his removal, however, I have recommended William Butler as his successor, and I do not wish what I write now to be taken as any abatement of that recommendation.

William J. Black is also an applicant for the appointment, and I write this at the solicitation of his friends to say that he is every way worthy of the office, and that I doubt not the conferring it upon him will give great satisfaction.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Sanford, Porter and Striker.

On March 10, 1855, Lincoln wrote to Sanford, Porter and Striker, a New York law firm, on legal business. In the course of the letter he said:

When I received the bond I was dabbling in politics, and of course neglecting business. Having since been beaten out I have gone to work again.

A. B. Moreau.

Springfield, March 23, 1855.

Sir: Stranger though I am, personally, being a brother in the faith, I venture to write to you. Yates cannot come to your court next week. He is obliged to be at Pike court where he has a case, with a fee of five hundred dollars, two hundred dollars already paid. To neglect it would be unjust to himself, and dishonest to his client. Harris will be with you, head up and tail up, for Nebraska. You must have some one to make an anti-Nebraska speech. Palmer is the best, if you can get him; I think Joe Gillespie, if you cannot get Palmer, and somebody, anyhow, if you can get neither. But press Palmer hard. It is in his Senatorial district, I believe.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Henry C. Whitney.

Springfield, June 7, 1855.

My dear Sir: Your note containing election news is received; and for which I thank you. It is all of no use, however. Logan is worse beaten than any other man ever was since elections were invented, beaten more than 1,200 in this county.

It is conceded on all hands that the Prohibitory law is also beaten.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, July 9, 1856.

Dear Whitney: I now expect to go to Chicago on the 15th, and I probably shall remain there or thereabouts for about two weeks.

It turned me blind when I first heard Swett was beaten and Lovejoy nominated; but, after much reflection, I really believe it is best to let it stand. This, of course, I wish to be confidential.

Lamon did get your deeds. I went with him to the office, got them, and put them in his hands myself.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

In a letter, dated December 18, 1857, Mr. Lincoln answers Mr. Whitney's request for legal information by imparting it. He adds: "You must not think of offering me pay for this." He closes as follows:

Mr. John O. Johnson is my friend; I gave your name to him. He is doing the work of trying to get up a Republican organization. I do not suppose "Long John" [1] ever saw or heard of him. Let me say to you confidentially, that I do not entirely appreciate what the Republican papers of Chicago are so constantly saying against "Long John." I consider those papers truly devoted to the Republican cause, and not unfriendly to me; but I *do* think that more of what they say against "Long John" is dictated by personal malice than themselves are conscious of. We cannot afford to lose the services of "Long John" and I do believe the unrelenting warfare made upon him is injuring our cause. I mean this to be confidential.

If you quietly coöperate with Mr. J. O. Johnson in getting up an organization, I think it will be right. Your friend as ever,

A. Lincoln.

[1] John Wentworth, a Republican leader of Chicago.

Springfield, June 24, 1858.

My dear Sir: Your letter enclosing the attack of the *Times* upon me was received this morning. Give yourself no concern about my voting against the supplies,[1] unless you are without faith that a lie can be successfully contradicted. There is not a word of truth in the charge, and I am just considering a little as to the best shape to put a contradiction in. Show this to whomsoever you please, but do not publish it in the papers. Your friend as ever, A. Lincoln.

On November 30, 1858, Lincoln wrote from Springfield to Whitney at Chicago, asking him to send two sets of the numbers of the Chicago *Tribune* containing reports of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, saying: "If you will, I will pay all charges, and be greatly obliged to boot."

On December 25, 1858, Lincoln acknowledged receipt of the newspapers, adding: "There is some probability that my Scrap-book will be reprinted; and if it shall I will save you a copy."

George Robertson.

Springfield, Illinois, August 15, 1855.

Hon. George Robertson, Lexington, Kentucky.

My dear Sir: The volume you left for me has been received. I am really grateful for the honor of your kind remembrance, as well as for the book. The partial reading I have already given it has afforded me much of both pleasure and instruction. It was new to me that the exact question which led to the Missouri Compromise had arisen before it arose in regard to Missouri, and that you had taken so prominent a part in

[1] *I. e.*, to the American soldiers in the Mexican War, when Lincoln was in Congress.

it. Your short but able and patriotic speech upon that occasion has not been improved upon since by those holding the same views, and, with all the lights you then had, the views you took appear to me as very reasonable.

You are not a friend to slavery in the abstract. In that speech you spoke of "the peaceful extinction of slavery," and used other expressions indicating your belief that the thing was at some time to have an end. Since then we have had thirty-six years of experience; and this experience has demonstrated, I think, that there is no peaceful extinction of slavery in prospect for us. The signal failure of Henry Clay and other good and great men, in 1849, to effect anything in favor of gradual emancipation in Kentucky, together with a thousand other signs, extinguished that hope utterly. On the question of liberty as a principle, we are not what we have been. When we were the political slaves of King George, and wanted to be free, we called the maxim that "all men are created equal" a self-evident truth, but now when we have grown fat, and have lost all dread of being slaves ourselves, we have become so greedy to be masters that we call the same maxim "a self-evident lie." The Fourth of July has not dwindled away; it is still a great day—for burning fire-crackers!!!

That spirit which desired the peaceful extinction of slavery has itself become extinct with the occasion and the men of the Revolution. Under the impulse of that occasion, nearly half the States adopted systems of emancipation at once, and it is a significant fact that not a single State has done the like since. So far as peaceful voluntary emancipation is concerned, the condition

of the negro slave in America, scarcely less terrible to the contemplation of a free mind, is now as fixed and hopeless of change for the better as that of the lost souls of the finally impenitent. The Autocrat of all the Russias [1] will resign his crown and proclaim his subjects free republicans sooner than will our American masters voluntarily give up their slaves.

Our political problem now is, "Can we as a nation continue together permanently—forever—half slave and half free?" The problem is too mighty for me—may God, in his mercy, superintend the solution. Your much obliged friend and humble servant, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 26, 1862.

Hon. George Robertson.

My dear Sir: A few days since I had a despatch from you which I did not answer. If I were to be wounded personally, I think I would not shun it. But it is the life of the nation. I now understand the trouble is with Colonel Utley: that he has five slaves in his camp, four of whom belong to rebels, and one belonging to you. If this be true, convey yours to Colonel Utley, so that he can make him free, and I will pay you any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars. Yours, etc., A. Lincoln.

[1] A remarkable prediction. Alexander II. liberated the serfs the day before Lincoln's first inauguration.

R. P. Morgan.[1]

Springfield, February 13, 1856.

Dear Sir: Says Tom to John: "Here's your old rotten wheelbarrow. I've broke it, usin' on it. I wish you would mend it, case I shall want to borrow it this arter-noon."

Acting on this as a precedent, I say, "Here's your old 'chalked hat.' I wish you would take it, and send me a new one, case I shall want to use it the first of March."

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

John Van Dyke.

Springfield, Illinois, June 27, 1856.

Hon. John Van Dyke.

My dear Sir: Allow me to thank you for your kind notice of me in the Philadelphia Convention.

When you meet Judge Dayton present my respects, and tell him I think him a far better man than I for the position he is in, and that I shall support both him and Colonel Frémont most cordially. Present my best respects to Mrs. Van Dyke, and believe me Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

William Grimes.

A reply to a letter asking Lincoln to campaign in Iowa.

Springfield, Illinois, July 12, 1856.

William Grimes.

Yours of the 29th of June was duly received.

[1] An official of the Illinois Central Railroad, to whom Lincoln, an attorney of the road, is applying for a pass.

I did not answer it because it plagued me. This morning I received another from Judd[1] and Peck, written by consultation with you. Now let me tell you why I am plagued:

1. I can hardly spare the time.

2. I am superstitious. I have scarcely known a party preceding an election to call in help from the neighboring States, but they lost the State. Last fall, our friends had Wade, of Ohio, and others, in Maine; and they lost the State. Last spring our adversaries had New Hampshire full of South Carolinians, and they lost the State. And so, generally, it seems to stir up more enemies than friends.

Have the enemy called in any foreign help? If they have a foreign champion there, I should have no objection to drive a nail in his track. I shall reach Chicago on the night of the 15th, to attend to a little business in court. Consider the things I have suggested, and write me at Chicago. Especially write me whether Browning consents to visit you.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, August, 1857.

To William Grimes.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 14th is received, and I am much obliged for the legal information you give.

You can scarcely be more anxious than I that the next election in Iowa should result in favor of the Republicans. I lost nearly all the working-part of last year, giving my time to the canvass; and I am altogether too poor to lose two

[1] Norman B. Judd; see Lincoln's correspondence with him.

years together. I am engaged in a suit in the United States Court at Chicago, in which the Rock Island Bridge Company is a party. The trial is to commence on the 8th of September, and probably will last two or three weeks. During the trial it is not improbable that all hands may come over and take a look at the bridge, and, if it were possible to make it hit right, I could then speak at Davenport. My courts go right on without cessation till late in November. Write me again, pointing out the more striking points of difference between your old and new constitutions, and also whether Democratic and Republican party lines were drawn in the adoption of it, and which were for and which were against it. If, by possibility, I could get over among you it might be of some advantage to know these things in advance.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

JESSE K. DUBOIS.

Springfield, August 19, 1856.

Dear Dubois: Your letter on the same sheet with Mr. Miller's is just received. I have been absent four days. I do not know when your court sits.

Trumbull has written the Committee here to have a set of appointments made for him commencing here in Springfield, on the 11th of September, and to extend throughout the south half of the State. When he goes to Lawrenceville, as he will, I will strain every nerve to be with you and him. More than that I cannot promise now. Yours as truly as ever, A. Lincoln.

Bloomington, December 21, 1857.

Dear Dubois: J. M. Douglas of the I. C. R. R. Co. is here and will carry this letter. He says they have a large sum (near $90,000) which they will pay into the treasury now, if they have an assurance that they shall not be sued before January, 1859—otherwise not. I really wish you could consent to this. Douglas says they *cannot* pay more and I believe him.

I do not write this as a lawyer seeking an advantage for a client; but only as a friend, only urging you to do what I think I would do if I were in your situation. I mean this as private and confidential only, but I feel a good deal of anxiety about it. Yours, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

HARRISON MALTBY.

[*Confidential.*]

Springfield, September 8, 1856.

Harrison Maltby, Esq.

Dear Sir: I understand you are a Fillmore man. Let me prove to you that every vote withheld from Frémont and given to Fillmore in this State actually lessens Fillmore's chance of being President. Suppose Buchanan gets all the slave States and Pennsylvania, and any other one State besides; then he is elected, no matter who gets all the rest. But suppose Fillmore gets the two slave States of Maryland and Kentucky; then Buchanan is not elected; Fillmore goes into the House of Representatives, and may be made President by a compromise. But suppose, again, Fillmore's friends throw away a few thousand votes on him in Indiana and Illinois; it will in-

evitably give these States to Buchanan, which will more than compensate him for the loss of Maryland and Kentucky, will elect him, and leave Fillmore no chance in the House of Representatives or out of it.

This is as plain as adding up the weight of three small hogs. As Mr. Fillmore has no possible chance to carry Illinois for himself, it is plainly to his interest to let Frémont take it, and thus keep it out of the hands of Buchanan. Be not deceived. Buchanan is the hard horse to beat in this race. Let him have Illinois, and nothing can beat him; and he will get Illinois if men persist in throwing away votes upon Mr. Fillmore. Does some one persuade you that Mr. Fillmore can carry Illinois? Nonsense! There are over seventy newspapers in Illinois opposing Buchanan, only three or four of which support Mr. Fillmore, all the rest going for Frémont. Are not these newspapers a fair index of the proportion of the votes? If not, tell me why.

Again, of these three or four Fillmore newspapers, two, at least, are supported in part by the Buchanan men, as I understand. Do not they know where the shoe pinches? They know the Fillmore movement helps them, and therefore they help it. Do think these things over, and then act according to your judgment.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Henry O'Conner.

Springfield, September 14, 1856.

Dear Sir: Yours inviting me to attend a mass meeting on the 23rd inst. is received. It would be very pleasant to strike hands with the Fré-

monters of Iowa, who have led the van so splendidly, in this grand charge which we hope and believe will end in a most glorious victory—all thanks, all honor to Iowa!! But Iowa is out of all danger, and it is no time for us, when the battle still rages, to pay holy-day visits to Iowa. I am sure you will excuse me for remaining in Illinois, where much hard work is still to be done. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

John E. Rosette.

[*Private.*]

Springfield, Ill., February 20, 1857.

John E. Rosette, Esq.

Dear Sir: Your note about the little paragraph in the *Republican* was received yesterday, since which time I have been too unwell to notice it. I had not supposed you wrote or approved it. The whole originated in mistake. You know by the conversation with me that I thought the establishment of the paper unfortunate, but I always expected to throw no obstacle in its way, and to patronize it to the extent of taking and paying for one copy. When the paper was brought to my house, my wife said to me, "Now are you going to take another worthless little paper?" I said to her *evasively*, "I have not directed the paper to be left." From this, in my absence, she sent the message to the carrier. This is the whole story. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

EDWARD G. MINER.

Springfield, February 19, 1858.

My dear Sir: Mr. G. A. Sutton is an applicant for superintendent of the addition to the Insane Asylum, and I understand it partly depends on you whether he gets it.

Mr. Sutton is my fellow townsman and friend, and I therefore wish to say for him that he is a man of sterling integrity and as a master mechanic and builder not surpassed in our city, or any I have known anywhere as far as I can judge.

I hope you will consider me as being really interested for Mr. Sutton and not as writing merely to relieve myself of importunity.

Please show this to Colonel William Ross and let him consider it as much intended for him as for yourself. Your friend, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

CHARLES L. WILSON.

Springfield, June 1, 1858.

Charles L. Wilson, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of yesterday, with the inclosed newspaper slip, is received. I have never said or thought more, as to the inclination of some of our Eastern Republican friends to favor Douglas, than I expressed in your hearing on the evening of the 21st of April, at the State library in this place. I have believed—I do believe now—that Greeley, for instance, would be rather pleased to see Douglas reëlected over me or any other Republican; and yet I do not believe it is so because of any secret arrangement

with Douglas. It is because he thinks Douglas's superior position, reputation, experience, ability, if you please, would more than compensate for his lack of a pure Republican position, and therefore his reëlection do the general cause of Republicanism more good than would the election of any one of our better undistinguished pure Republicans. I do not know how you estimate Greeley, but I consider him incapable of corruption or falsehood. He denies that he directly is taking part in favor of Douglas, and I believe him. Still his feeling constantly manifests itself in his paper, which, being so extensively read in Illinois, is, and will continue to be, a drag upon us. I have also thought that Governor Seward, too, feels about as Greeley does, but not being a newspaper editor, his feeling in this respect it not much manifested. I have no idea that he is, by conversation or by letter, urging Illinois Republicans to vote for Douglas.

As to myself, let me pledge you my word that neither I, nor any friend so far as I know, has been setting stake against Governor Seward. No combination has been made with me, or proposed to me, in relation to the next presidential candidate. The same thing is true in regard to the next Governor of our State. I am not directly or indirectly committed to any one, nor has any one made any advance to me upon the subject. I have had many free conversations with John Wentworth; but he never dropped a remark that led me to suspect that he wishes to be Governor. Indeed it is due to truth to say that while he has uniformly expressed himself for me, he has never hinted at any condition.

The signs are that we shall have a good con-

vention on the 16th and I think our prospects generally are improving some every day. I believe we need nothing so much as to get rid of unjust suspicions of one another.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Ward H. Lamon.[1]

Springfield, June 11, 1858.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 9th written at Joliet is just received. Two or three days ago I learned that McLean had appointed delegates in favor of Lovejoy, and thenceforward I have considered his renomination a fixed fact. My *opinion*—if my opinion is of any consequence in this case, in which it is no business of mine to interfere—remains unchanged, that running an independent candidate against Lovejoy will not do; that it will result in nothing but disaster all around. In the first place, whoever so runs will be beaten and will be spotted for life; in the second place, while the race is in progress, he will be under the strongest temptation to trade with the Democrats, and to favor the election of certain of their friends to the legislature; thirdly, I shall be held responsible for it, and Republican members of the legislature, who are partial to Lovejoy, will for that purpose oppose us; and, lastly, it will in the end lose us the district altogether. There is no safe way but a convention; and if in that convention, upon a com-

[1] Lamon was one of the closest friends of Lincoln. He accompanied the President elect on his night journey to Washington to foil the Baltimore assassins. Lincoln made him marshal of the District of Columbia. After the war he used material gathered by William H. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, in a *Life of Lincoln*, of which he was the putative author.

mon platform which all are willing to stand upon, one has been known as an Abolitionist, but who is now occupying none but common ground, can get the majority of the votes to which *all* look for an election, there is no safe way but to submit.

As to the inclination of some Republicans to favor Douglas, that is one of the chances I have to run, and which I intend to run with patience.

I write in the court room. Court has opened, and I must close. Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

SYDNEY SPRING.

Springfield, June 19, 1858.

Sydney Spring, Esq., Grayville, Ill.

My dear Sir: Your letter introducing Mr. Faree was duly received. There was no opening to nominate him for Superintendent of Public Instruction, but through him, Egypt made a most valuable contribution to the convention. I think it may be fairly said that he came off the lion of the day—or rather of the night. Can you not elect him to the legislature? It seems to me he would be hard to beat. What objection could be made to him? What is your Senator Martin saying and doing? What is Webb about?

Please write me.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

JAMES W. SOMERS.

Springfield, June 25, 1858.

James W. Somers, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 22d, inclosing a draft of two hundred dollars, was duly received. I have paid it on the judgment, and herewith you

have the receipt. I do not wish to say anything as to who shall be the Republican candidate for the legislature in your district further than that I have full confidence in Dr. Hull. Have you ever got in the way of consulting with McKinley in political matters? He is true as steel, and his judgment is very good. The last I heard from him, he rather thought Weldon, of De Witt, was our best timber for representative, all things considered. But you there must settle it among yourselves. It may well puzzle older heads than yours to understand how, as the Dred Scott decision holds, Congress can authorize a Territorial legislature to do everything else, and cannot authorize them to prohibit slavery. That is one of the things the court can decide, but can never give an intelligible reason for.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, March 17, 1860.

James W. Somers, Esq.

My dear Sir: Reaching home three days ago, I found your letter of February 26th.

Considering your difficulty of hearing, I think you had better settle in Chicago, if, as you say, a good man already in fair practice there will take you into partnership. If you had not that difficulty, I still should think it an even balance whether you would not better remain in Chicago, with such a chance for a copartnership.

If I went West, I think I would go to Kansas —to Leavenworth or Atchison. Both of them are, and will continue to be, fine growing places.

I believe I have said all I can, and I have said it with the deepest interest for your welfare.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

A. Campbell.

Springfield, June 25, 1858.

A. Campbell, Esq.

My dear Sir: In 1856 you gave me authority to draw on you for any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars. I see clearly that such a privilege would be more available now than it was then. I am aware that times are tighter now than they were then. Please write me, at all events; and whether you can now do anything or not, I shall continue grateful for the past.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

John J. Crittenden.[1]

Springfield, July 7, 1858.

To the Honorable J. J. Crittenden.

Dear Sir: I beg you will pardon me for the liberty in addressing you upon only so limited an acquaintance, and that acquaintance so long past. I am prompted to do so by a story being whispered about here that you are anxious for the reëlection of Mr. Douglas to the United States Senate, and also of Harris, of our district, to the House of Representatives, and that you are pledged to write letters to that effect to your friends here in Illinois, if requested. I do not believe the story, but still it gives me some uneasiness. If such was your inclination, I do

[1] John J. Crittenden, Senator from Kentucky, elected as a Whig, had written a letter to T. Lyle Dickey, an Anti-Nebraska man of Illinois, strongly favoring the election of Douglas because of his break with President Buchanan on the endorsement of the Lecompton Constitution. This letter was published clandestinely in doubtful districts on the eve of election, and undoubtedly contributed to Lincoln's defeat.

not believe you would so express yourself. It is not in character with you as I have always estimated you.

You have no warmer friends than here in Illinois, and I assure you nine-tenths—I believe ninety-nine hundredths—of them would be mortified exceedingly by anything of the sort from you. When I tell you this, make such allowance as you think just for my position, which, I doubt not, you understand. Nor am I fishing for a letter on the other side. Even if such could be had, my judgment is that you would better be hands off!

Please drop me a line; and if your purposes are as I hope they are not, please let me know. The confirmation would pain me much, but I should still continue your friend and admirer.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

P. S. I purposely fold this sheet within itself instead of an envelop.

Springfield, November 4, 1858.

Hon. J. J. Crittenden.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 27th was taken from the office by my law partner, and in the confusion consequent upon the recent election, was handed to me only this moment. I am sorry the allusion made in the *Missouri Republican* to the private correspondence between yourself and me has given you any pain. It gave me scarcely a thought, perhaps for the reason that, being away from home, I did not see it until only two days before the election. It never occurred to me to cast any blame upon you. I have been told that the correspondence has been al-

luded to in the *Missouri Republican* several times; but I only saw one of the allusions made, in which it was stated, as I remember, that a gentleman of St. Louis had seen a copy of your letter to me. As I have given no copy, nor ever shown the original, of course I inferred he had seen it in your hands; but it did not occur to me to blame you for showing what you had written yourself. It was not said that the gentleman had seen a copy, or the original, of my letter to you.

The emotions of defeat at the close of a struggle in which I felt more than a merely selfish interest, and to which defeat the use of your name contributed largely, are fresh upon me; but even in this mood I cannot for a moment suspect you of anything dishonorable.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

John Mathers.

Springfield, July 20, 1858.

Jno. Mathers, Esq., Jacksonville, Ill.

My dear Sir: Your kind and interesting letter of the 19th was duly received. Your suggestions as to placing one's self on the offensive rather than the *defensive* are certainly correct. That is a point which I shall not disregard. I spoke here on Saturday night.[1] The speech, not very well reported, appears in the *State Journal* of this morning. You doubtless will see it; and I hope that you will perceive in it, that I am already improving. I would mail you a copy now, but have not one on hand. I thank you for your

[1] Speech in reply to Douglas, on July 17, 1858; see Speeches.

letter and shall be pleased to hear from you again. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Stephen A. Douglas.[1]

See pp. 116–121, volume three of present edition, for correspondence in regard to Joint Debate. See also letter to Henry Asbury; to J. O. Cunningham; and to Samuel Galloway (July 28, 1859).

[1] Stephen A. Douglas, the rival of Lincoln in Illinois and national politics, was born at Brandon, Vt., April 23, 1813. He worked on a farm, taught school, and, removing to Illinois, began the practice of law. He entered into politics as a Democrat and became successively Attorney-General of the State, Legislator, Secretary of State, and Judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois. He was a Representative in Congress from 1843 to 1847, and a Senator from 1847 to his death, June 3, 1861. Short in stature, he received the affectionate sobriquet from his followers of the "Little Giant." As Chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories he successfully advocated the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, thus permitting the citizens of every new Territory to vote on the introduction into it of slavery. He was a candidate for President at the Democratic national conventions of 1852 and 1856. In his campaign for reëlection to the Senate he was opposed by Lincoln. In the famous debates which ensued between the contestants, Lincoln forced him into the position of upholding the Dred Scott decision, which permitted Southerners to take their slaves into the free Territories, and at the same time, of advocating "unfriendly legislation" in the Territories to nullify practically the decision. Douglas won the election by this compromise, but incurred the enmity of the South. This resulted in a division of the Democratic party into a Northern and a Southern faction. Douglas was nominated for President in 1860 by the Northern division; he threw himself with vigor into the campaign, introducing the innovation of a presidential candidate "stumping" the country, but he received only twelve electoral votes. When Sumter was fired on, he personally offered his services as an orator in the Union cause. He made the most eloquent speech of his life before the Illinois legislature, advocating the raising of a large army to crush the rebellion. A few weeks later he died (on June 3, 1861), having redeemed so far as he could his work for the cause of slavery, and leaving his fame secure as the first and greatest of "War Democrats."

HENRY ASBURY.

Springfield, July 31, 1858.

Henry Asbury, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 28th is received. The points you propose to press upon Douglas he will be very hard to get up to, but I think you labor under a mistake when you say no one cares how he answers. This implies that it is equal with him whether he is injured here or at the South. That is a mistake. He cares nothing for the South; he knows he is already dead there. He only leans southward more to keep the Buchanan party from growing in Illinois. You shall have hard work to get him directly to the point whether a Territorial legislature has or has not the power to exclude slavery. But if you succeed in bringing him to it—though he will be compelled to say it possesses no such power—he will instantly take ground that slavery cannot actually exist in the Territories unless the people desire it, and so give it protection by Territorial legislation. If this offends the South, he will let it offend them, as at all events he means to hold on to his chances in Illinois. You will soon learn by the papers that both the judge and myself are to be in Quincy on the 13th of October, when and where I expect the pleasure of seeing you.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, November 19, 1858.

Henry Asbury, Esq.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 13th was received some days ago. The fight must go on. The cause of civil liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one or even one hundred defeats.

Douglas had the ingenuity to be supported in the late contest both as the best means to break down and to uphold the slave interest. No ingenuity can keep these antagonistic elements in harmony long. Another explosion will soon come.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

B. C. Cook.

Springfield, August 2, 1858.

Hon. B. C. Cook.

My dear Sir: I have a letter from a very true friend and intelligent man insisting that there is a plan on foot in La Salle and Bureau to run Douglas Republicans for Congress and for the Legislature in those counties, if they can only get the encouragement of our folks nominating pretty extreme abolitionists. Is it thought they will do nothing if our folks nominate men who are not very obnoxious to the charge of abolitionism? Please have your eye upon this.

Signs are looking pretty fair.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Alexander Sympson.

Springfield, August 11, 1858.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 6th received. If life and health continue I shall pretty likely be in Augusta on the 25th. Things look reasonably well. Will tell you more fully when I see you.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Blandinsville, October 26, 1858.

A. Sympson, Esq., Lewistown, Ill.

Dear Sir: Since parting with you this morning I heard some things which make me believe

that Edmunds and Morrill will spend this week among the National Democrats trying to induce them to content themselves by voting for Jake Davis, and then to vote for the Douglas candidates for Senator and Representative. Have this headed off, if you can. Call Wagley's attention to it, and have him and the National Democrat for Rep. to counteract it as far as they can.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, December 12, 1858.

Alexander Sympson, Esq.

My dear Sir: I expect the result of the election went hard with you. So it did with me, too, perhaps not quite so hard as you may have supposed. I have an abiding faith that we shall beat them in the long run. Step by step the objects of the leaders will become too plain for the people to stand them. I write merely to let you know that I am neither dead nor dying. Please give my respects to your good family, and all inquiring friends.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

J. O. Cunningham.

Ottawa, August 22, 1858.

J. O. Cunningham, Esq.

My dear Sir: . . . Douglas and I, for the first time this canvass, crossed swords here yesterday; the fire flew some, and I am glad to know I am yet alive. There was a vast concourse of people —more than could get near enough to hear.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Henry Chew.

[*Order for Furniture.*]

My old friend Henry Chew, the bearer of this, is in a strait for some furniture to commence housekeeping. If any person will furnish him twenty-five dollars' worth, and he does not pay for it by the 1st of January next, I will.

A. Lincoln.

September 25, 1858.

Urbana, February 16, 1859.

Hon. A. Lincoln, Springfield, Illinois.

My dear Friend: I herewith inclose your order which you gave your friend Henry Chew. You will please send me a draft for the same and oblige yours,

S. Little.

J. N. Brown.

Lincoln compiled a little book of newspaper-clippings of portions of his speeches, to aid Captain Brown in the campaign of 1858, Brown having requested something to refute the cry of "negro equality" brought against the Republicans. Lincoln also wrote: "The following extracts are taken from various speeches of mine delivered at various times and places; and I believe they contain the substance of all I have ever said about 'negro equality.' The first three are from my answer to Judge Douglas, October 16, 1854, at Peoria."

Springfield, October 18, 1858.

My dear Sir: I do not perceive how I can express myself, more plainly, than I have done in the foregoing extracts. In four of them I have expressly disclaimed all intentions to bring about social and political equality between the white and black races, and, in all the rest, I have done the same thing by clear implication.

I have made it equally plain that I think the negro is included in the "men" used in the Declaration of Independence.

I believe the declaration that "all men are created equal" is the great fundamental principle upon which our free institutions rest; that negro slavery is violative of that principle; but that, by our form of government, that principle has not been made one of legal obligation; that by our form of government, the States which have slavery are to retain it, or surrender it at their own pleasure; and that all others—individuals, free-states and national government—are constitutionally bound to leave them alone about it.

I believe our government was thus framed because of the *necessity* springing from the actual presence of slavery, when it was framed.

That such necessity does not exist in the Territories, where slavery is not present.

In his Mendenhall speech Mr. Clay says:

> "Now, as an abstract principle, there is no doubt of the truth of that declaration [*all men are created equal*] and it is desirable, in the original construction of society, and in organized societies, to keep it in view as a great fundamental principle."

Again, in the same speech Mr. Clay says:

> "If a state of nature existed, and we were about to lay the foundation of society, no man would be more strongly opposed than I would to incorporate the institution of slavery among its elements."

Exactly so. In our new free Territories, a state of nature *does* exist. In them Congress lays the foundations of society; and, in laying those foundations, I say, with Mr. Clay, it is desirable that the declaration of the equality of

all men shall be kept in view, as a great fundamental principle; and that Congress, which lays the foundations of society, should, like Mr. Clay, be strongly opposed to the incorporation of slavery among its elements.

But it does not follow that social and political equality between white and black, *must* be incorporated, because slavery must *not*. The declaration does not so require.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Edward Lusk.

Springfield, October 30, 1858.

Edward Lusk, Esq.

Dear Sir: I understand the story is still being told and insisted upon that I have been a Know-nothing. I repeat what I stated in a public speech at Meredosia, that I am not, nor ever have been, connected with the party called the Know-nothing party, or party calling themselves the American party.[1] Certainly no man of truth, and I believe no man of good character for truth, can be found to say on his own knowledge that I ever was connected with that party.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Norman B. Judd.[2]

Springfield, November 15, 1858.

Hon. N. B. Judd.

My dear Sir: I have the pleasure to inform you that I am convalescent, and hoping these

[1] See also letter to A. Jonas.

[2] As a Democratic Representative of Chicago in the Illinois Legislature in 1854, Judd opposed Douglas's Nebraska Bill. Two years later he entered into the newly formed Republican party. He was Lincoln's chief political lieutenant in procuring his nomination for President.

lines may find you in the same improving state of health. Doubtless you have suspected for some time that I entertain a personal wish for a term in the United States Senate; and had the suspicion taken the shape of a direct charge, I think I could not have truthfully denied it. But let the past as nothing be. For the future, my view is that the fight must go on. The returns here are not yet completed; but it is believed that Dougherty's vote will be slightly greater than Miller's majority over Tracy. We have some hundred and twenty thousand clear Republican votes. That pile is worth keeping together. It will elect a State treasurer two years hence.

In that day I shall fight in the ranks, but I shall be in no one's way for any of the places. I am especially for Trumbull's reëlection; and, by the way, this brings me to the principal object of this letter. Can you not take your draft of an apportionment law, and carefully revise it till it shall be strictly and obviously just in all particulars, and then by an early and persistent effort get enough of the enemy's men to enable you to pass it? I believe if you and Peck make a job of it, begin early, and work earnestly and quietly, you can succeed in it. Unless something be done, Trumbull is eventually beaten two years hence. Take this into serious consideration.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, November 16, 1858.

Hon. N. B. Judd.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 15th is just received. I wrote you the same day. As to the pecuniary matter, I am willing to pay according to my ability; but I am the poorest hand living to get

others to pay. I have been on expenses so long without earning anything that I am absolutely without money now for even household purposes. Still, if you can put in two hundred and fifty dollars for me toward discharging the debt of the committee, I will allow it when you and I settle the private matter between us. This, with what I have already paid, and with an outstanding note of mine, will exceed my subscription of five hundred dollars. This, too, is exclusive of my ordinary expenses during the campaign, all of which being added to my loss of time and business, bears pretty heavily upon one no better off in [*this*] world's goods than I; but as I had the post of honor, it is not for me to be over nice. You are feeling badly—"And this too shall pass away," never fear.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, December 9, 1859.

Hon. N. B. Judd.

My dear Sir: I have just reached home from Kansas and found your long letter of the 1st inst. It has a tone of blame toward myself which I think is not quite just; but I will not stand upon that, but will consider a day or two, and put something in the best shape I can, and send it to you. A great difficulty is that they make no distinct charge against you which I can contradict. You did vote for Trumbull against me; and, although I think, and have said a thousand times, that was no injustice to me, I cannot change the fact, nor compel people to cease speaking of it. Ever since that matter occurred, I have constantly labored, as I believe you know, to have all recollection of it dropped.

The vague charge that you played me false last year I believe to be false and outrageous; but it seems I can make no impression by expressing that belief. I made a special job of trying to impress that upon Baker, Bridges, and Wilson here last winter. They all well know that I believe no such charge against you. But they chose to insist that they know better about it than I do.

As to the charge of your intriguing for Trumbull against me, I believe as little of that as any other charge. If Trumbull and I were candidates for the same office, you would have a right to prefer him, and I should not blame you for it; but all my acquaintance with you induces me to believe you would not pretend to be for me while really for him. But I do not understand Trumbull and myself to be rivals. You know I am pledged to not enter a struggle with him for the seat in the Senate now occupied by him; and yet I would rather have a full term in the Senate than in the presidency.

Your friend as ever, A. Lincoln.

P. S.—I omitted to say that I have, in no single instance, permitted a charge such as alluded to above to go uncontradicted when made in my presence. A. L.

Springfield, December 14, 1859.

Dear Judd: Herewith is the letter of our old Whig friends,[1] and my answer, sent as you requested. I showed both to Dubois, and he feared the clause about leave to publish, in the answer, would not be quite satisfactory to you. I hope it will be satisfactory, as I would rather

[1] See letter to George W. Dole and others.

not seem to come before the public as a volunteer; still if, after considering this, you still deem it important, you may substitute the inclosed slip by pasting it down over the original clause.

I find some of our friends here attach more consequence to getting the national convention into our State than I did, or do. Some of them made me promise to say so to you. As to the time, it must certainly be after the Charleston fandango; and I think, within bounds of reason, the later the better.

As to that matter about the committee, in relation to appointing delegates by general convention, or by districts, I shall attend to it as well as I know how, which, God knows, will not be very well. Write me if you can find anything to write. Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, February 5, 1860.

Hon. N. B. Judd.

My dear Sir: Your two letters were duly received. Whether Mr. Storrs shall come to Illinois and assist in our approaching campaign, is a question of dollars and cents. Can we pay him? If we can, that is the sole question. I consider his services very valuable.

A day or so before you wrote about Mr. Herndon, Dubois told me that he (Herndon) had been talking to William Jayne in the way you indicate. At first sight afterward, I mentioned it to him; he rather denied the charge, and I did not press him about the past, but got his solemn pledge to say nothing of the sort in the future. I had done this before I received your letter. I impressed upon him as well as I could, first, that such [*sic*] was untrue and unjust to you; and,

second, that I would be held responsible for what he said. Let this be private.

Some folks are pretty bitter toward me about the Dole, Hubbard, and Brown letter.[1]

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, February 9, 1860.

Hon. N. B. Judd.

Dear Sir: I am not in a position where it would hurt much for me to not be nominated on the national ticket; but I am where it would hurt some for me to not get the Illinois delegates. What I expected when I wrote the letter to Messrs. Dole and others is now happening. Your discomfited assailants are most bitter against me; and they will, for revenge upon me, lay to the Bates egg in the South, and to the Seward egg in the North, and go far toward squeezing me out in the middle with nothing. Can you not help me a little in this matter in your end of the vineyard? I mean this to be private. Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

A. G. Henry.

See letter to John Bennett, August 5, 1853.

[*Fragments of letter.*]

Springfield, Illinois, November 19, 1858.

Dr. A. G. Henry.

My dear Sir:

. . . . .

You doubtless have seen ere this the result of the election here. Of course I wished, but I did

[1] See letter to George W. Dole and others.

not much expect, a better result. The popular vote of the State is with us; so that the seat in the

. . . . .

whole canvass. On the contrary, John and George Weber, and several such old Democrats, were furiously for me. As a general rule, out of Sangamon as well as in it, much of the plain old Democracy is with us, while nearly all the old exclusive silk-stocking Whiggery is against us. I don't mean nearly all the Old Whig party, but nearly all of the nice exclusive sort. And why not? There has been nothing in politics since the Revolution so congenial to their nature as the present position of the great Democratic party.

I am glad I made the late race. It gave me a hearing on the great and durable question of the age, which I could have had in no other way; and though I now sink out of view, and shall be forgotten, I believe I have made some marks which will tell for the cause of civil liberty long after I am gone. Mary joins me in sending our best wishes to Mrs. Henry and others of your family.

. . . . .

Springfield, Illinois, July 4, 1860.

My dear Doctor: Your very agreeable letter of May 15th was received three days ago. We are just now receiving the first sprinkling of your Oregon election returns—not enough, I think, to indicate the result. We should be too happy if both Logan and Baker should triumph.

Long before this you have learned who was nominated at Chicago. We know not what a day may bring forth, but to-day it looks as if

the Chicago ticket will be elected. I think the chances were more than equal that we could have beaten the Democracy united. Divided as it is, its chance appears indeed very slim. But great is Democracy in resources; and it may yet give its fortunes a turn. It is under great temptation to do something; but what can it do which was not thought of, and found impracticable, at Charleston and Baltimore? The signs now are that Douglas and Breckinridge will each have a ticket in every State. They are driven to this to keep up their bombastic claims of nationality, and to avoid the charge of sectionalism which they have so much lavished upon us.

It is an amusing fact, after all Douglas has said about nationality and sectionalism, that I had more votes from the Southern section at Chicago than he had at Baltimore! In fact, there was more of the Southern section represented at Chicago than in the Douglas rump concern at Baltimore!

Our boy, in his tenth year (the baby when you left), has just had a hard and tedious spell of scarlet fever, and he is not yet beyond all danger. I have a headache and sore throat upon me now, inducing me to suspect that I have an inferior type of the same thing.

Our eldest boy, Bob, has been away from us nearly a year at school, and will enter Harvard University this month. He promises very well, considering we never controlled him much. Write again when you receive this. Mary joins in sending our kindest regards to Mrs. H., yourself, and all the family.

Your friend, as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, September 22, 1860.

Dear Doctor: Yours of July 18th was received some time ago. When you wrote you had not learned the result of the Democratic conventions at Charleston and Baltimore. With the two tickets in the field I should think it possible for our friends to carry Oregon. But the general result, I think, does not depend upon Oregon. No one this side of the mountains pretends that any ticket can be elected by the people, unless it be ours. Hence great efforts to combine against us are being made, which, however, as yet have not had much success. Besides what we see in the newspapers, I have a good deal of private correspondence; and without giving details, I will only say it all looks very favorable to our success.

Make my best respects to Mrs. Henry and the rest of your family.

Your friend, as ever, A. Lincoln.

C. H. Ray.

Springfield, November 20, 1858.

My dear Sir: I wish to preserve a set of the last debates (if they may be called so), between Douglas and myself. . . . Please [*send*] me two copies of each number of your paper containing the whole. I wish to lay one away, and to put the other in a scrap-book. . . .

I believe, according to a letter of yours to Hatch, you are "feeling like hell yet." Quit that. You will soon feel better. Another "blow up" is coming; and we shall have fun again. Douglas managed to be supported both as the best instrument to put down and to uphold the slave power;

but no ingenuity can long keep the antagonism in harmony. Yours as ever. A. Lincoln.

JOEL A. MATTESON.

Springfield, November 25, 1858.

Hon. Joel A. Matteson.

Dear Sir: Last summer, when a movement was made in court against your road, you engaged us to be on your side. It has so happened that, so far, we have performed no service in the case; but we lost a cash fee offered us on the other side. Now, being hard run, we propose a little compromise. We will claim nothing for the matter just mentioned, if you will relieve us at once from the old matter at the Marine and Fire Insurance Company, and be greatly obliged to boot. Can you not do it? Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

JAMES T. THORNTON.

Springfield, December 2, 1858.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 29th written in behalf of Mr. John H. Widner, is received. I am absent altogether too much to be a suitable instructor for a law student. When a man has reached the age that Mr. Widner has, and has already been doing for himself, my judgment is, that he reads the books for himself without an instructor. That is precisely the way I came to the law. Let Mr. Widner read Blackstone's *Commentaries*, Chitty's *Pleadings*, Greenleaf's *Evidence*, Story's *Equity*, and Story's *Equity Pleadings*, get a license, and go to the practice, and still keep reading. This is my judgment of the

cheapest, quickest, and best way for Mr. Widner to make a lawyer of himself.

A. Lincoln.

H. D. Sharpe.

Springfield, December 8, 1858.

H. D. Sharpe, Esq.

Dear Sir: Your very kind letter of November 9th was duly received. I do not know that you expected or desired an answer; but glacing over the contents of yours again, I am prompted to say that, while I desired the result of the late canvass to have been different, I still regard it as an exceeding small matter. I think we have fairly entered upon a durable struggle as to whether this nation is to ultimately become all slave or all free, and though I fall early in the contest, it is nothing if I shall have contributed, in the least degree, to the final rightful result.

Respectfully yours, A. Lincoln.

W. M. Morris.

Springfield, March 28, 1859.

W. M. Morris, Esq.

Dear Sir: Your kind note inviting me to deliver a lecture at Galesburg is received. I regret to say I cannot do so now. I must stick to the courts awhile. I read a sort of lecture [1] to three different audiences during the last month and this; but I did so under circumstances which made it a waste of no time whatever.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[1] "Discoveries, Inventions, and Improvements": see Speeches.

H. L. Pierce and Others.

Springfield, Ill., April 6, 1859.

Gentlemen: Your kind note inviting me to attend a festival in Boston, on the 28th instant, in honor of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson, was duly received. My engagements are such that I cannot attend.

Bearing in mind that about seventy years ago two great political parties were first formed in this country, that Thomas Jefferson was the head of one of them and Boston the headquarters of the other, it is both curious and interesting that those supposed to descend politically from the party opposed to Jefferson should now be celebrating his birthday in their own original seat of empire, while those claiming political descent from him have nearly ceased to breathe his name everywhere.

Remembering, too, that the Jefferson party was formed upon its supposed superior devotion to the personal rights of men, holding the rights of property to be secondary only, and greatly inferior, and assuming that the so-called Democracy of to-day are the Jefferson, and their opponents the anti-Jefferson party, it will be equally interesting to note how completely the two have changed hands as to the principle upon which they were originally supposed to be divided. The Democracy of to-day hold the liberty of one man to be absolutely nothing, when in conflict with another man's right of property; Republicans, on the contrary, are for both the man and the dollar, but in case of conflict the man before the dollar.

I remember being once much amused at see-

ing two partially intoxicated men engaged in a fight with their great-coats on, which fight, after a long and rather harmless contest, ended in each having fought himself out of his own coat and into that of the other. If the two leading parties of this day are really identical with the two in the days of Jefferson and Adams, they have performed the same feat as the two drunken men.

But, soberly, it is now no child's play to save the principles of Jefferson from total overthrow in this nation. One would state with great confidence that he could convince any sane child that the simpler propositions of Euclid are true; but nevertheless he would fail, utterly, with one who should deny the definitions and axioms. The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society. And yet they are denied and evaded, with no small show of success. One dashingly calls them "glittering generalities." Another bluntly calls them "self-evident lies." And others insidiously argue that they apply to "superior races." These expressions, differing in form, are identical in object and effect—the supplanting the principles of free government, and restoring those of classification, caste, and legitimacy. They would delight a convocation of crowned heads plotting against the people. They are the vanguard, the miners and sappers of returning despotism. We must repulse them, or they will subjugate us. This is a world of compensation; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, cannot long retain it. All honor to Jefferson—to the man who, in the

concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast, and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there that to-day and in all coming days it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling-block to the very harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Messrs. H. L. Pierce and others.

T. J. Pickett.[1]

Springfield, April 16, 1859.

T. J. Pickett, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 13th is just received. My engagements are such that I cannot at any very early day visit Rock Island to deliver a lecture, or for any other object. As to the other matter you kindly mention, I must in candor say I do not think myself fit for the presidency. I certainly am flattered and gratified that some partial friends think of me in that connection; but I really think it best for our cause that no concerted effort, such as you suggest, should be made. Let this be considered confidential. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[1] A newspaper editor who had written for an appointment to talk over a plan he proposed for a simultaneous announcement by the Republican editors of Illinois of Lincoln's name for the presidency.

MARK W. DELAHAY.

[*Portion of Letter.*]

May 14, 1859.

M. W. Delahay.

. . . You will probably adopt resolutions in the nature of a platform. I think the only temptation will be to lower the Republican standard in order to gather recruits. In my judgment such a step would be a serious mistake, and open a gap through which more would pass out than pass in. And this would be the same whether the letting down should be in deference to Douglasism or to the Southern opposition element; either would surrender the object of the Republican organization—the preventing of the spread and nationalization of slavery. This object surrendered, the organization would go to pieces. I do not mean by this that no Southern man must be placed upon our national ticket in 1860. There are many men in the slave States for any one of whom I could cheerfully vote to be either President or Vice-President, provided he would enable me to do so with safety to the Republican cause, without lowering the Republican standard. This is the indispensable condition of a union with us; it is idle to talk of any other. Any other would be as fruitless to the South as distasteful to the North, the whole ending in common defeat. Let a union be attempted on the basis of ignoring the slavery question, and magnifying other questions which the people are just now not caring about, and it will result in gaining no single electoral vote in the South, and losing every one in the North. . . .

THEODORE CANISIUS.

Springfield, May 17, 1859.

Dr. Theodore Canisius.

Dear Sir: Your note asking, in behalf of yourself and other German citizens, whether I am for or against the constitutional provision in regard to naturalized citizens, lately adopted by Massachusetts, and whether I am for or against a fusion of the Republicans, and other opposition elements, for the canvass of 1860, is received.

Massachusetts is a sovereign and independent State; and it is no privilege of mine to scold her for what she does. Still, if from what she has done an inference is sought to be drawn as to what I would do, I may without impropriety speak out. I say, then, that, as I understand the Massachusetts provision, I am against its adoption in Illinois, or in any other place where I have a right to oppose it. Understanding the spirit of our institutions to aim at the elevation of men, I am opposed to whatever tends to degrade them. I have some little notoriety for commiserating the oppressed negro; and I should be strangely inconsistent if I could favor any project for curtailing the existing rights of white men, even though born in different lands, and speaking different languages from myself. As to the matter of fusion, I am for it, if it can be had on Republican grounds; and I am not for it on any other terms. A fusion on any other terms would be as foolish as unprincipled. It would lose the whole North, while the common enemy would still carry the whole South. The question of men is a different one. There are good patriotic men and able statesmen in the

South whom I would cheerfully support, if they would now place themselves on Republican ground, but I am against letting down the Republican standard a hair's-breadth.

I have written this hastily, but I believe it answers your questions substantially.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Schuyler Colfax.[1]

Springfield, Ill., July 6, 1859.

Hon. Schuyler Colfax.

My dear Sir: I much regret not seeing you while you were here among us. Before learning that you were to be at Jacksonville on the 4th, I had given my word to be at another place. Besides a strong desire to make your personal acquaintance, I was anxious to speak with you on politics a little more fully than I can well do in a letter. My main object in such conversation would be to hedge against divisions in the Republican ranks generally, and particularly for the contest of 1860. The point of danger is the temptation in different localities to "platform" for something which will be popular just there, but which, nevertheless, will be a firebrand elsewhere, and especially in a national convention. As instances, the movement against foreigners in Massachusetts; in New Hampshire, to make obedience to the fugitive-slave law punishable as a crime; in Ohio, to repeal the fugitive-slave law; and squatter sovereignty, in Kansas. In these things there is explosive matter enough to blow up half a dozen national conventions, if it

[1] Member of Congress from Indiana. Later, in 1868, elected as Vice-President.

gets into them; and what gets very rife outside of conventions is very likely to find its way into them. What is desirable, if possible, is that in every local convocation of Republicans a point should be made to avoid everything which will disturb Republicans elsewhere. Massachusetts Republicans should have looked beyond their noses, and then they could not have failed to see that tilting against foreigners would ruin us in the whole Northwest. New Hampshire and Ohio should forbear tilting against the fugitive-slave law in such a way as to utterly overwhelm us in Illinois with the charge of enmity to the Constitution itself. Kansas, in her confidence that she can be saved to freedom on "squatter sovereignty," ought not to forget that to prevent the spread and nationalization of slavery is a national concern, and must be attended to by the nation. In a word, in every locality we should look beyond our noses; and at least say nothing on points where it is probable we shall disagree. I write this for your eye only; hoping, however, if you see danger as I think I do, you will do what you can to avert it. Could not suggestions be made to leading men in the State and congressional conventions, and so avoid, to some extent at least, these apples of discord?

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 8, 1861.

Hon. Schuyler Colfax.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the 6th has just been handed me by Mr. Baker, of Minnesota. When I said to you the other day that I wished to write you a letter, I had reference, of course, to my not having offered you a Cabinet appoint-

ment. I meant to say, and now do say, you were most honorably and amply recommended, and a tender of the appointment was not withheld, in any part, because of anything happening in 1858.[1] Indeed, I should have decided as I did easier than I did, had that matter never existed. I had partly made up my mind in favor of Mr. Smith [2]—not conclusively, of course—before your name was mentioned in that connection. When you were brought forward I said, "Colfax is a young man, is already in position, is running a brilliant career, and is sure of a bright future in any event; with Smith, it is now or never." I considered either abundantly competent, and decided on the ground I have stated. I now have to beg that you will not do me the injustice to suppose for a moment that I remember anything against you in malice.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

James Miller.

Springfield, Ill., July 11, 1859.

Hon. James Miller, Treasurer of the State of Illinois.

Dear Sir: We suppose you are persistently urged to pay something upon the new McCallister and Stebbins bonds. As friends of yours and of the people, we advise you to pay nothing upon them under any possible circumstances. The holders of them did a great wrong, and are now persisting in it in a way which deserves severe punishment. They know the legislature has again

[1] In the senatorial conflict between Lincoln and Douglas, Colfax favored the latter.

[2] Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, appointed Secretary of the Interior.

and again refused to fully recognize the old bonds. Seizing upon an act never intended to apply to them, they besieged Governor Bissell more than a year ago to fund the old bonds; he refused. They sought a mandamus upon him from the Supreme Court; the court refused. Again they besieged the governor last winter; he sought to have them go before the legislature; they refused. Still they persisted, and dogged him in his afflicted condition till they got from him what the agent in New York acted upon and issued the new bonds. Now they refuse to surrender them, hoping to force an acquiescence, for Governor Bissell's sake. "That cock won't fight," and they may as well so understand at once. If the news of the surrender of the new bonds does not reach here in ten days from this date, we shall do what we can to have them repudiated in toto, finally and forever. If they were less than demons they would at once relieve Governor Bissell from the painful position they have dogged him into; and if they still persist, they shall never see even the twenty-six cents to the dollar if we can prevent it.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN,
S. T. LOGAN,
O. M. HATCH.

SAMUEL GALLOWAY.

Springfield, Ill., July 27, 1859.

Hon. Samuel Galloway.

My dear Sir: Your letter in relation to the claim of Mr. Ambos for the Columbus Machine Manufacturing Company against Barret and

others is received. This has been a somewhat disagreeable matter to me. As I remember, you first wrote me on the general subject, Barret having then had a credit of four or five hundred dollars, and there was some question about his taking the machinery. I think you inquired as to Barret's responsibility; and that I answered I considered him an honest and honorable man, having a great deal of property, owing a good many debts, and hard pressed for ready cash. I was a little surprised soon after to learn that they had enlarged the credit to near ten thousand dollars, more or less. They wrote me to take notes and a mortgage, and to hold on to the notes awhile to fix amounts. I inferred the notes and mortgage were both to be held up for a time, and did so; Barret gave a second mortgage on part of the premises, which was first recorded, and then I was blamed some for not having recorded the other mortgage when first executed. My chief annoyance with the case now is that the parties at Columbus seem to think it is by my neglect that they do not get their money. There is an older mortgage on the real estate mortgaged, though not on the machinery. I got a decree of foreclosure in this present month; but I consented to delay advertising for sale till September, on a reasonable prospect that something will then be paid on a collateral Barret has put in my hands. When we come to sell on the decree, what will we do about the older mortgage? Barret has offered one or two other good notes—that is, notes on good men—if we would take them, *pro tanto*, as payment, but I notified Mr. Ambos, and he declined. My impression is that the whole of the money cannot be got very soon,

anyway, but that it all will be ultimately collected, and that it could be got faster by turning in every little parcel we can, than by trying to force it through by the law in a lump. There are no special personal relations between Barret and myself. We are personal friends in a general way—no business transactions between us—not akin, and opposed on politics.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Ill., July 28, 1859.

Hon. Samuel Galloway.

My dear Sir: Your very complimentary, not to say flattering, letter of the 23d inst. is received. Dr. Reynolds had induced me to expect you here; and I was disappointed not a little by your failure to come. And yet I fear you have formed an estimate of me which can scarcely be sustained on a personal acquaintance.

Two things done by the Ohio Republican convention—the repudiation of Judge Swan, and the "plank" for a repeal of the fugitive-slave law—I very much regretted. These two things are of a piece; and they are viewed by many good men, sincerely opposed to slavery, as a struggle against, and in disregard of, the Constitution itself. And it is the very thing that will greatly endanger our cause, if it be not kept out of our national convention. There is another thing our friends are doing which gives me some uneasiness. It is their leaning toward "popular sovereignty." There are three substantial objections to this. First, no party can command respect which sustains this year what it opposed last. Secondly, Douglas (who is the most dangerous enemy of liberty, because the most insidious one)

would have little support in the North, and by consequence, no capital to trade on in the South, if it were not for his friends thus magnifying him and his humbug. But lastly, and chiefly, Douglas's popular sovereignty, accepted by the public mind as a just principle, nationalizes slavery, and revives the African slave-trade inevitably. Taking slaves into new Territories, and buying slaves in Africa, are identical things, identical rights or identical wrongs, and the argument which establishes one will establish the other. Try a thousand years for a sound reason why Congress shall not hinder the people of Kansas from having slaves, and when you have found it, it will be an equally good one why Congress should not hinder the people of Georgia from importing slaves from Africa.

As to Governor Chase, I have a kind side for him. He was one of the few distinguished men of the nation who gave us, in Illinois, their sympathy last year. I never saw him, but suppose him to be able and right-minded; but still he may not be the most suitable as a candidate for the presidency.

I must say I do not think myself fit for the presidency. As you propose a correspondence with me, I shall look for your letters anxiously.

I have not met Dr. Reynolds since receiving your letter; but when I shall, I will present your respects as requested. Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Chicago, March 24, 1860.

Hon. Samuel Galloway.

My dear Sir: I am here attending a trial in court. Before leaving home I received your kind

letter of the 15th. Of course I am gratified to know I have friends in Ohio who are disposed to give me the highest evidence of their friendship and confidence. Mr. Parrott, of the legislature, had written me to the same effect. If I have any chance, it consists mainly in the fact that the whole opposition would vote for me, if nominated. (I don't mean to include the pro-slavery opposition of the South, of course.) My name is new in the field, and I suppose I am not the first choice of a very great many. Our policy, then, is to give no offence to others—leave them in a mood to come to us if they shall be compelled to give up their first love. This, too, is dealing justly with all, and leaving us in a mood to support heartily whoever shall be nominated. I believe I have once before told you that I especially wish to do no ungenerous thing toward Governor Chase, because he gave us his sympathy in 1858 when scarcely any other distinguished man did. Whatever you may do for me, consistently with these suggestions, will be appreciated and gratefully remembered. Please write me again. Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Especially Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, June 19, 1860.

My dear Sir: Your very kind letter of the 15th is received. Messrs. Follet, Foster & Co.'s *Life* of me is *not* by my authority; and I have scarcely been so much astounded by anything, as their public announcement that it is authorized by me. They have fallen into some strange misunderstanding. I certainly knew they con-

templated publishing a biography, and I certainly did not object to their doing so, *upon their own responsibility.* I even took pains to facilitate them. But, at the same time, I made myself tiresome, if not hoarse, with repeating to Mr. Howard, their only agent seen by me, my protest that I *authorized nothing*—would be *responsible for nothing.* How they could so misunderstand me, passes comprehension. As a matter, *wholly my own,* I would authorize no biography, without *time* and *opportunity* to carefully examine and consider every word of it; and in this case, in the nature of things, I can have no such time and opportunity. But, in my present position, when, by the lessons of the past, and the united voice of all discreet friends, I can neither write nor speak a word for the public, how dare I to send forth, by my authority, a volume of hundreds of pages, for adversaries to make points upon without end?

Were I to do so, the convention would have a right to reassemble, and substitute another name for mine.

For these reasons, I would not look at the proof sheets. I am determined to maintain the position of truly saying that I never saw the proof sheets, or any part of their work, before its publication.

Now, do not mistake me. I feel great kindness for Messrs. F. F. & Co.—do not think they have intentionally done wrong. There may be nothing wrong in their proposed book. I sincerely hope there will not. I barely suggest that you, or any of the friends there, on the party account, look it over, and exclude what you may think would embarrass the party, bearing in

mind, at all times, that I *authorize nothing*—will be *responsible for nothing.*

Your friend as ever, A. Lincoln.

HAWKINS TAYLOR.

Springfield, Ill., September 6, 1859.

Hawkins Taylor, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 3d is just received. There is some mistake about my expected attendance of the U. S. Court in your city on the 3d Tuesday of this month. I have had no thought of being there. It is bad to be poor. I shall go to the wall for bread and meat, if I neglect my business this year as well as last. It would please me much to see the city, and good people, of Keokuk, but for this year it is little less than an impossibility. I am constantly receiving invitations which I am compelled to decline. I was pressingly urged to go to Minnesota, and I now have two invitations to go to Ohio. These last are prompted by Douglas going there; and I am really tempted to make a flying trip to Columbus and Cincinnati.

I do hope you will have no serious trouble in Iowa. What thinks Grimes about it? I have not known him to be mistaken about an election in Iowa. Present my respects to Colonel Carter, and any other friends; and believe me,

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Ill., April 21, 1860.

Hawkins Taylor, Esq.

My dear Sir: . . . Opinions here, as to the prospect of Douglas being nominated,[1] are quite

[1] For President at the Charleston (S. C.) Democratic convention.

conflicting—some very confident he *will*, and others that he *will not* be—I think his nomination possible; but that the chances are against him. . . .

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

EDWARD WALLACE.

Clinton, October 11, 1859.

Dr. Edward Wallace.

My dear Sir: I am here just now attending court. Yesterday, before I left Springfield, your brother, Dr. William S. Wallace, showed me a letter of yours, in which you kindly mention my name, inquire for my tariff views, and suggest the propriety of my writing a letter upon the subject. I was an old Henry Clay-Tariff-Whig. In old times I made more speeches on that subject than any other.

I have not since changed my views. I believe yet, if we could have a moderate, carefully adjusted protective tariff, so far acquiesced in as not to be a perpetual subject of political strife, squabbles, changes, and uncertainties, it would be better for us. Still it is my opinion that just now the revival of that question will not advance the cause itself, or the man who revives it.

I have not thought much on the subject recently, but my general impression is that the necessity for a protective tariff will ere long force its old opponents to take it up; and then its old friends can join in and establish it on a more firm and durable basis. We, the Old Whigs, have been entirely beaten out on the tariff question, and we shall not be able to reëstablish the policy until the absence of it shall have demon-

strated the necessity for it in the minds of men heretofore opposed to it. With this view, I should prefer to not now write a public letter on the subject. I therefore wish this to be considered confidential. I shall be very glad to receive a letter from you. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, May 12, 1860.

Dr. Edward Wallace.

My dear Sir: Your brother, Dr. W. S. Wallace, shows me a letter of yours in which you request him to inquire if you may use a letter of mine to you in which something is said upon the tariff question. I do not precisely remember what I did say in that letter, but I presume I said nothing substantially different from what I shall say now.

In the days of Henry Clay, I was a Henry Clay-tariff man, and my views have undergone no material change upon that subject. I now think the tariff question ought not to be agitated in the Chicago convention, but that all should be satisfied on that point with a presidential candidate whose antecedents give assurance that he would neither seek to force a tariff law by executive influence, nor yet to arrest a reasonable one by a veto or otherwise. Just such a candidate I desire shall be put in nomination. I really have no objection to these views being publicly known, but I do wish to thrust no letter before the public now upon any subject. Save me from the appearance of obtrusion, and I do not care who sees this or my former letter.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

W. E. Frazer.

Springfield, Illinois, November 1, 1859.

W. E. Frazer, Esq.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 24th ult. was forwarded to me from Chicago. It certainly is important to secure Pennsylvania for the Republicans in the next presidential contest, and not unimportant to also secure Illinois. As to the ticket you name, I shall be heartily for it after it shall have been fairly nominated by a Republican national convention; and I cannot be committed to it before. For my single self, I have enlisted for the permanent success of the Republican cause; and for this object I shall labor faithfully in the ranks, unless, as I think not probable, the judgment of the party shall assign me a different position. If the Republicans of the great State of Pennsylvania shall present Mr. Cameron as their candidate for the presidency, such an indorsement for his fitness for the place could scarcely be deemed insufficient. Still, as I would not like the public to know, so I would not like myself to know, I had entered a combination with any man to the prejudice of all others whose friends respectively may consider them preferable.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Unknown Correspondent.

Springfield, November 2, 1859.

Dear Doctor: Your business makes it convenient for you to do a good deal in the way of getting all our friends to the polls next Tuesday. Please do it. We begin to hope we can

elect Palmer. He is a good man, and deserves to be elected, both for his own, and the Cause's sake. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

James A. Briggs.

Danville, Illinois, November 13, 1859.

James A. Briggs, Esq.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 1st, closing with my proposition for compromise, was duly received. I will be on hand, and in due time will notify you of the exact day. I believe, after all, I shall make a political speech of it.[1] You have no objection? I would like to know in advance whether I am also to speak or lecture in New York. Very, very glad your election went right.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

George W. Dole and Others.[2]

Springfield, Illinois, December 14, 1859.

Messrs. George W. Dole, G. S. Hubbard, and W. H. Brown.

Gentlemen: Your letter of the 12th instant is received. To your question: "In the election of senator in 1854 [1855 you mean], when Mr. Trumbull was the successful candidate, was there any unfairness in the conduct of Mr. Judd toward you, or any thing blamable on his part?" I answer, I have never believed, and do not now believe, that on that occasion there was any unfairness in the conduct of Mr. Judd toward me,

[1] This refers to what afterward became the celebrated Cooper Union speech, delivered in New York City, February 27, 1860. See Speeches.

[2] See letters to Norman B. Judd of December 14, 1859, February 5 and February 9, 1860.

or anything blamable on his part. Without deception, he preferred Judge Trumbull to myself, which was his clear right, morally as well as legally.

To your question: "During the canvass of last year, did he do his whole duty toward you and the Republican party?" I answer, I have always believed, and now believe, that during that canvass he did his whole duty toward me and the Republican party.

To your question: "Do you know of anything unfair in his conduct toward yourself in any way?" I answer, I neither know nor suspect anything unfair in his conduct toward myself in any way.

I take pleasure in adding that of all the avowed friends I had in the canvass of last year, I do not suspect a single one of having acted treacherously to me, or to our cause; and that there is not one of them in whose honor and integrity I have more confidence to-day than in that of Mr. Judd.

You can use your discretion as to whether you make this public.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

G. M. Parsons and Others.

Springfield, Illinois, December 19, 1859.

Messrs. G. M. Parsons and Others, Central Executive Committee, etc.

Gentlemen: Your letter of the 7th instant, accompanied by a similar one from the Governor elect, the Republican State officers, and the Republican members of the State Board of Equalization of Ohio, both requesting of me, for

publication in permanent form, copies of the political debates between Senator Douglas and myself last year, has been received. With my grateful acknowledgments to both you and them for the very flattering terms in which the request is communicated, I transmit you the copies. The copies I send you are as reported and printed by the respective friends of Senator Douglas and myself, at the time—that is, his by his friends, and mine by mine. It would be an unwarrantable liberty for us to change a word or a letter in his, and the changes I have made in mine, you perceive, are verbal only, and very few in number. I wish the reprint to be precisely as the copies I send, without any comment whatever.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

James W. Sheahan.

Springfield, January 24, 1860.

James W. Sheahan, Esq.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 21st, requesting copies of my speeches now in progress of publication in Ohio, is received. I have no such copies now at my control, having sent the only set I ever had to Ohio. Mr. George M. Parsons has taken an active part among those who have the matter in charge in Ohio; and I understand Messrs. Follett, Foster & Co., are to be the publishers. I make no objection to any satisfactory arrangement you may make with Mr. Parsons and the publishers; and if it will facilitate you, you are at liberty to show them this note.

You labor under a mistake somewhat injurious to me, if you suppose I have revised the speeches in any just sense of the word. I only made some

small verbal corrections, mostly such as an intelligent reader would make for himself, not feeling justified to do more when republishing the speeches along with those of Senator Douglas, his and mine being mutually answers and replies to one another. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

KANSAS DELEGATE.

March 16, 1860.

As to your kind wishes for myself, allow me to say I cannot enter the ring on the money basis—first, because in the main it is wrong; and secondly, I have not and cannot get the money. I say in the main the use of money is wrong; but for certain objects in a political contest, the use of some, is both right, and indispensable. With me, as with yourself, this long struggle has been one of great pecuniary loss. I now distinctly say this— If you shall be appointed a delegate to Chicago, I will furnish one hundred dollars to bear the expenses of the trip.

Present my respects to General Lane; and say to him, I shall be pleased to hear from him at any time. Your friend, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, April 14, 1860.

My dear Sir: Reaching home last night, I found your letter of the 7th. You know I was in New England. Some of the acquaintances I made while there write to me since the election that the close vote in Connecticut and the *quasi* defeat in Rhode Island are a drawback upon the prospects of Governor Seward; and Trumbull

writes Dubois to the same effect. Do not mention this as coming from me. Both those States are safe enough for us in the fall. I see by the despatches that since you wrote Kansas has appointed delegates and instructed them for Seward. Do not stir them up to anger, but come along to the convention, and I will do as I said about expenses. Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

E. Stafford.

Springfield, Illinois, March 17, 1860.

E. Stafford, Esq.

Dear Sir: Reaching home on the 14th instant, I found yours of the 1st. Thanking you very sincerely for your kind purposes toward me, I am compelled to say the money part of the arrangement you propose is, with me, an impossibility. I could not raise ten thousand dollars if it would save me from the fate of John Brown. Nor have my friends, so far as I know, yet reached the point of staking any money on my chances of success. I wish I could tell you better things, but it is even so.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

C. F. McNeil.

Springfield, April 6, 1860.

C. F. McNeil, Esq.

Dear Sir: Reaching home yesterday, I found yours of the 23d March, inclosing a slip from the Middleport *Press*. It is not true that I ever charged anything for a political speech in my life; but this much is true: Last October I was requested by letter to deliver some sort of speech

in Mr. Beecher's church, in Brooklyn—two hundred dollars being offered in the first letter. I wrote that I could do it in February, provided they would take a political speech if I could find time to get up no other. They agreed; and subsequently I informed them the speech would have to be a political one. When I reached New York, I for the first time learned that the place was changed to "Cooper Institute." I made the speech, and left for New Hampshire, where I have a son at school, neither asking for pay, nor having any offered me. Three days after a check for two hundred dollars was sent to me at New Hampshire; and I took it, and did not know it was wrong. My understanding now is—though I knew nothing of it at the time—that they did charge for admittance to the Cooper Institute, and that they took in more than twice two hundred dollars.

I have made this explanation to you as a friend; but I wish no explanation made to our enemies. What they want is a squabble and a fuss, and that they can have if we explain; and they cannot have it if we don't.

When I returned through New York from New England, I was told by the gentlemen who sent me the check that a drunken vagabond in the club, having learned something about the two hundred dollars, made the exhibition out of which the *Herald* manufactured the article quoted by the *Press* of your town.

My judgment is, and therefore my request is, that you give no denial and no explanation.

Thanking you for your kind interest in the matter, I remain,

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Republican Committee.

Springfield, Illinois, May 21, 1860.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: I tender to you, and through you to the Republican National Convention, and all the people represented in it, my profoundest thanks for the high honor done me, which you now formally announce.

Deeply and even painfully sensible of the great responsibility which is inseparable from this high honor—a responsibility which I could almost wish had fallen upon some one of the far more eminent men and experienced statesmen whose distinguished names were before the convention—I shall, by your leave, consider more fully the resolutions of the convention, denominated the platform, and without any unnecessary or unreasonable delay respond to you, Mr. Chairman, in writing, not doubting that the platform will be found satisfactory, and the nomination gratefully accepted. And now I will not longer defer the pleasure of taking you, and each of you, by the hand.

See also letter to George Ashmun, May 23, 1860.

Joshua R. Giddings.

Springfield, Illinois, May 21, 1860.

Hon. J. R. Giddings.

My good Friend: Your very kind and acceptable letter of the 19th was duly handed me by Mr. Tuck. It is indeed most grateful to my feelings that the responsible position assigned me comes without conditions, save only such honorable ones as are fairly implied. I am not want-

ing in the purpose, though I may fail in the strength, to maintain my freedom from bad influences. Your letter comes to my aid in this point most opportunely. May the Almighty grant that the cause of truth, justice, and humanity shall in no wise suffer at my hands.

Mrs. Lincoln joins me in sincere wishes for your health, happiness, and long life.

A. Lincoln.

George Ashmun and the Republican National Convention.

Springfield, Illinois, May 23, 1860.

Sir: I accept the nomination tendered me by the convention over which you presided, and of which I am formally apprised in the letter of yourself and others, acting as a committee of the convention for that purpose.

The declaration of principles and sentiments which accompanies your letter meets my approval; and it shall be my care not to violate or disregard it in any part.

Imploring the assistance of Divine Providence, and with due regard to the views and feelings of all who were represented in the convention—to the rights of all the States and Territories and people of the nation; to the inviolability of the Constitution; and the perpetual union, harmony, and prosperity of all—I am most happy to coöperate for the practical success of the principles declared by the convention.

Your obliged friend and fellow-citizen,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Ill., June 4, 1860.

Hon. George Ashmun.

My dear Sir: It seems as if the question whether my first name is "Abraham" or "Abram" will never be settled. It is "Abraham," and if the letter of acceptance is not yet in print, you may, if you think fit, have my signature thereto printed "Abraham Lincoln." Exercise your judgment about this.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

CALEB B. SMITH.

Springfield, Ill., May 26, 1860.

Hon. C. B. Smith.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 21st, was duly received; but I have found no time until now, to say a word in the way of answer. I am, indeed, much indebted to Indiana; and, as my home friends tell me, much to you personally. Your saying you no longer consider Ia. a doubtful State is very gratifying. The thing starts well everywhere—too well, I almost fear, to last. But we are in, and stick or go through, must be the word.

Let me hear from Indiana occasionally.

Your friend, as ever, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, August 10, 1860.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 20th was duly received, and for which I sincerely thank you. From present appearances we might succeed in the general result, without Indiana; but *with* it, failure is scarcely possible. Therefore put in your best efforts. I see by the despatches that Mr. Clay had a rousing meeting at Vincennes.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

SAMUEL HAYCRAFT.

Springfield, Illinois, May 28, 1860.

Dear Sir: Your recent letter, without date, is received. Also the copy of your speech on the contemplated Daniel Boone Monument, which I have not yet had time to read. In the main you are right about my history. My father was Thomas Lincoln, and Mrs. Sally Johnston was his second wife. You are mistaken about my mother. Her maiden name was Nancy Hanks. I was not born at Elizabethtown, but my mother's first child, a daughter, two years older than myself, and now long since deceased, was. I was born February 12, 1809, near where Hogginsville (Hodgensville) now is, then in Hardin County. I do not think I ever saw you, though I very well know who you are—so well that I recognized your handwriting, on opening your letter, before I saw the signature. My recollection is that Ben Helm was first clerk, that you succeeded him, that Jack Thomas and William Farleigh graduated in the same office, and that your handwritings were all very similar. Am I right?

My father has been dead near ten years; but my step-mother (Mrs. Johnston) is still living.

I am really very glad of your letter, and shall be pleased to receive another at any time.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Springfield, Illinois, June 4, 1860.

Dear Sir: Your second letter, dated May 31st, is received. You suggest that a visit to the

place of my nativity might be pleasant to me. Indeed it would. But would it be safe? Would not the people lynch me?

The place on Knob Creek, mentioned by Mr. Read, I remember very well; but I was not born there. As my parents have told me, I was born on Nolin, very much nearer Hodgens Mill than the Knob Creek place is. My earliest recollection, however, is of the Knob Creek place. Like you, I belonged to the Whig party from its origin to its close. I never belonged to the American party organization; nor ever to a party called a Union party, though I hope I neither am nor ever have been, less devoted to the Union than yourself or any other patriotic man.

It may not be altogether without interest to let you know that my wife is a daughter of the late Robert S. Todd, of Lexington, Ky., and that a half-sister of hers is the wife of Ben Hardin Helm, born and raised at your town, but residing at Louisville now, as I believe.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, August 16, 1860.

My dear Sir: A correspondent of the *New York Herald*, who was here a week ago, writing to that paper, represents me as saying I had been invited to visit Kentucky, but that I suspected it was a trap to inveigle me into Kentucky in order to do violence to me.

This is wholly a mistake. I said no such thing. I do not remember, but possibly I did mention my correspondence with you. But very certainly I was not guilty of stating, or insinuating, a suspicion of any intended violence, deception or other wrong, against me, by you or any

other Kentuckian. Thinking the *Herald* correspondence might fall under your eye, I think it due to myself to enter my protest against the correctness of this part of it. I scarcely think the correspondent was malicious, but rather that he misunderstood what was said.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, August 23, 1860.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 19th just received. I now fear I may have given you some uneasiness in my last letter. I did not mean to intimate that I had, to any extent, been involved or embarrassed by you; nor yet to draw from you anything to relieve myself from difficulty. My only object was to assure you that I had not, as represented by the *Herald* correspondent, charged you with an attempt to inveigle me into Kentucky to do me violence. I believe no such thing of you or of Kentuckians generally; and I dislike to be represented to them as slandering them in that way.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, November 13, 1860.

Hon. Samuel Haycraft.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 9th is just received. I can only answer briefly. Rest fully assured that the good people of the South who will put themselves in the same temper and mood toward me which you do, will find no cause to complain of me. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Salmon P. Chase.[1]

See letters to Samuel Galloway, of July 28, 1859, and March 24, 1860.

Springfield, Illinois, May 26, 1860.

Hon. S. P. Chase.

My dear Sir: It gave me great pleasure to receive yours mistakenly dated May 17. Holding myself the humblest of all whose names were before the convention, I feel in especial need of the assistance of all; and I am glad—very glad—of the indication that you stand ready. It is a great consolation that so nearly all—all except Mr. Bates and Mr. Clay, I believe—of those distinguished and able men are already in high position to do service in the common cause.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, December 31, 1860.

Hon. Salmon P. Chase.

My dear Sir: In these troublous times I would much like a conference with you. Please visit me here at once.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

General Letter.

After Lincoln's nomination for the presidency many persons wrote him to obtain his opinion on certain political points. Owing to the critical condition of national affairs it did not seem wise to Lincoln to comply with these requests, and so he drafted the following general reply, which is a masterpiece of diplomacy.

[1] Salmon Portland Chase had been U. S. Senator from Ohio, and Governor of the State. He was a prominent candidate at the Chicago convention, and was naturally chosen by Lincoln for his Cabinet.

Springfield, Illinois, ———, 1860.

Dear Sir: Your letter to Mr. Lincoln of ———, and by which you seek to obtain his opinions on certain political points, has been received by him. He has received others of a similar character, but he also has a greater number of the exactly opposite character. The latter class beseech him to write nothing whatever upon any point of political doctrine. They say his positions were well known when he was nominated, and that he must not now embarrass the canvass by undertaking to shift or modify them. He regrets that he cannot oblige all, but you perceive it is impossible for him to do so.

Yours, etc., Jno. G. Nicolay.

See also letter to T. A. Cheney.

William Cullen Bryant.[1]

Springfield, Illinois, June 28, 1860.

Mr. Wm. C. Bryant.

My dear Sir: Please accept my thanks for the honor done me by your letter of the 16th. I appreciate the danger against which you would guard me, nor am I wanting in the purpose to avoid it. I thank you for the additional strength your words give me to maintain that purpose.

Your friend and servant, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, December 29, 1860.

Hon. William Cullen Bryant.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 25th is duly received. The "well-known politician" to whom

[1] The poet, then editor of the New York *Evening Post*. He introduced Lincoln to the audience on the occasion of Lincoln's address at Cooper Union.

I understand you to allude did write me, but did not press upon me any such compromise as you seem to suppose, or, in fact, any compromise at all.

As to the matter of the Cabinet, mentioned by you, I can only say I shall have a great deal of trouble, do the best I can. I promise you that I shall unselfishly try to deal fairly with all men and all shades of opinion among our friends.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Hannibal Hamlin.[1]

Springfield, Illinois, July 18, 1860.

Hon. Hannibal Hamlin.

My dear Sir: It appears to me that you and I ought to be acquainted, and accordingly I write this as a sort of introduction of myself to you. You first entered the Senate during the single term I was a member of the House of Representatives, but I have no recollection that we were introduced. I shall be pleased to receive a line from you.

The prospect of Republican success now appears very flattering, so far as I can perceive. Do you see anything to the contrary?

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[1] Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, the running mate of Lincoln in the presidential campaign of 1860, was a leading Democratic congressman and senator until 1857, when he joined the Republican party because of his anti-slavery sentiments. As a Republican he was sent back to the Senate, and served there until 1861, when he became Vice-President. After the war he returned to the Senate, where he remained until 1881, when he was appointed Minister to Spain. He died in 1893.

Springfield, Illinois, September 4, 1860.
Hon. Hannibal Hamlin.

My dear Sir: I am annoyed some by a letter from a friend in Chicago, in which the following passage occurs: "Hamlin has written Colfax that two members of Congress will, he fears, be lost in Maine—the first and sixth districts; and that Washburn's majority for governor will not exceed six thousand."

I had heard something like this six weeks ago, but had been assured since that it was not so. Your Secretary of State—Mr. Smith, I think—whom you introduced to me by letter, gave this assurance; more recently, Mr. Fessenden, our candidate for Congress in one of those districts, wrote a relative here that his election was sure by at least five thousand, and that Washburn's majority would be from 14,000 to 17,000; and still later, Mr. Fogg, of New Hampshire, now at New York serving on a national committee, wrote me that we were having a desperate fight in Maine, which would end in a splendid victory for us.

Such a result as you seem to have predicted in Maine, in your letter to Colfax, would, I fear, put us on the down-hill track, lose us the State elections in Pennsylvania and Indiana, and probably ruin us on the main turn in November.

You must not allow it.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, November 8, 1860.
Hon. Hannibal Hamlin.

My dear Sir: I am anxious for a personal interview with you at as early a day as possible.

Can you, without much inconvenience, meet me at Chicago? If you can, please name as early a day as you conveniently can, and telegraph me, unless there be sufficient time before the day named to communicate by mail.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, November 27, 1860.

Hon. Hannibal Hamlin.

My dear Sir: On reaching home I find I have in charge for you the inclosed letter.

I deem it proper to advise you that I also find letters here from very strong and unexpected quarters in Pennsylvania, urging the appointment of General Cameron to a place in the Cabinet.

Let this be a profound secret, even though I do think best to let you know it.

Yours very sincerely, A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Springfield, Illinois, December 8, 1860.

Hon. Hannibal Hamlin.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 4th was duly received. The inclosed to Governor Seward covers two notes to him, copies of which you find open for your inspection. Consult with Judge Trumbull; and if you and he see no reason to the contrary, deliver the letter to Governor Seward at once. If you see reason to the contrary, write me at once.

I have had an intimation that Governor Banks would yet accept a place in the Cabinet. Please ascertain and write me how this is.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, December 24, 1860.
Hon. Hannibal Hamlin.

My dear Sir: I need a man of Democratic antecedents from New England. I cannot get a fair share of that element in without. This stands in the way of Mr. Adams. I think of Governor Banks. Mr. Welles, and Mr. Tuck. Which of them do the New England delegation prefer? Or shall I decide for myself?

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

CASSIUS M. CLAY.

Springfield, Illinois, July 20, 1860.
Hon. Cassius M. Clay.

My dear Sir: I see by the papers, and also learn from Mr. Nicolay, who saw you at Terre Haute, that you are filling a list of speaking-appointments in Indiana. I sincerely thank you for this, and I shall be still further obliged if you will, at the close of the tour, drop me a line giving your impressions of our prospects in that State.

Still more will you oblige me if you will allow me to make a list of appointments in our State, commencing, say, at Marshall, in Clark County, and thence south and west along over the Wabash and Ohio River border.

In passing let me say that at Rockport you will be in the county within which I was brought up from my eighth year, having left Kentucky at that point of my life.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

On August 10, 1860, Mr. Lincoln wrote from Springfield, Ill., to Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky, proposing changes in Clay's itinerary in a speechmaking tour of Illinois. He concludes:

As to the inaugural, I have not yet commenced getting it up; while it affords me great pleasure to be able to say the cliques have not yet commenced upon me.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

A. JONAS.

[*Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, July 21, 1860.

Hon. A. Jonas.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 20th is received. I suppose as good or even better men than I may have been in American or Know-nothing lodges; but, in point of fact, I never was in one at Quincy or elsewhere. I was never in Quincy but one day and two nights while Know-nothing lodges were in existence, and you were with me that day and both those nights. I had never been there before in my life, and never afterward, till the joint debate with Douglas in 1858. It was in 1854 when I spoke in some hall there, and after the speaking, you, with others, took me to an oyster-saloon, passed an hour there, and you walked with me to, and parted with me at, the Quincy House, quite late at night. I left by stage for Naples before daylight in the morning, having come in by the same route after dark the evening previous to the speaking, when I found you waiting at the Quincy House to meet me. A few days after I was there, Richardson, as I understood, started this same story about my having been in a Know-nothing lodge. When I heard of the charge, as I did soon after, I taxed my recollection for some incident which could have suggested it; and I remembered that

on parting with you the last night, I went to the office of the hotel to take my stage-passage for the morning, was told that no stage-office for that line was kept there, and that I must see the driver before retiring, to insure his calling for me in the morning; and a servant was sent with me to find the driver, who, after taking me a square or two, stopped me, and stepped perhaps a dozen steps farther, and in my hearing called to some one, who answered him, apparently from the upper part of a building, and promised to call with the stage for me at the Quincy House. I returned, and went to bed, and before day the stage called and took me. This is all.

That I never was in a Know-nothing lodge in Quincy, I should expect could be easily proved by respectable men who were always in the lodges and never saw me there. An affidavit of one or two such would put the matter at rest.

And now a word of caution. Our adversaries think they can gain a point if they could force me to openly deny the charge, by which some degree of offense would be given to the Americans. For this reason it must not publicly appear that I am paying any attention to the charge.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

T. A. Cheney.

Springfield, Illinois, August 14, 1860.

T. A. Cheney, Esq.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 10th is received, and for which I thank you. I would cheerfully answer your questions in regard to the fugitive-slave law were it not that I consider it would be both imprudent and contrary to the reason-

able expectation of my friends for me to write or speak anything upon doctrinal points now. Besides this, my published speeches contain nearly all I could willingly say. Justice and fairness to all, is the utmost I have said, or will say.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

John B. Fry.

Springfield, Illinois, August 15, 1860.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 9th, inclosing the letter of Hon. John Minor Botts,[1] was duly received. The latter is herewith returned according to your request. It contains one of the many assurances I receive from the South, that in no probable event will there be any very formidable effort to break up the Union. The people of the South have too much of good sense and good temper to attempt the ruin of the Government rather than see it administered as it was administered by the men who made it. At least so I hope and believe. I thank you both for your own letter and a sight of that of Mr. Botts'.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

John B. Fry, Esq.

Thurlow Weed.[2]

Springfield, Illinois, August 17, 1860.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 13th was received this morning. Douglas is managing the Bell element with great adroitness. He has his men in

[1] A Virginia statesman, formerly a Whig, later a Know-nothing, and always a consistent Union man.

[2] The most influential journalist and politician of the time. He founded and edited the Albany (N. Y.) *Evening Journal*. He was the political partner of William H. Seward.

Kentucky to vote for the Bell candidate, producing a result which has badly alarmed and damaged Breckinridge, and at the same time has induced the Bell men to suppose that Bell will certainly be President if they can keep a few of the Northern States away from us by throwing them to Douglas. But you, better than I, understand all this.

I think there will be the most extraordinary effort ever made to carry New York for Douglas. You and all others who write me from your State think the effort cannot succeed, and I hope you are right. Still it will require close watching and great efforts on the other side.

Herewith I send you a copy of a letter written at New York, which sufficiently explains itself, and which may or may not give you a valuable hint. You have seen that Bell tickets have been put on the track both here and in Indiana. In both cases the object has been, I think, the same as the Hunt movement in New York—to throw States to Douglas. In our State we know the thing is engineered by Douglas men, and we do not believe they can make a great deal out of it.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, December 17, 1860.

Thurlow Weed, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 11th was received two days ago. Should the convocation of governors of which you speak seem desirous to know my views on the present aspect of things, tell them you judge from my speeches that I will be inflexible on the Territorial question; that I probably think either the Missouri line extended, or Douglas's and Eli Thayer's popular sovereignty,

would lose us everything we gain by the election; that filibustering for all south of us and making slave States of it would follow, in spite of us, in either case; also that I probably think all opposition, real and apparent, to the fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution ought to be withdrawn.

I believe you can pretend to find but little, if anything, in my speeches about secession. But my opinion is, that no State can in any way lawfully get out of the Union without the consent of the others; and that it is the duty of the President and other government functionaries to run the machine as it is.

Truly yours, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, February 4, 1861.

Dear Sir: I have both your letter to myself and that to Judge Davis, in relation to a certain gentleman in your State claiming to dispense patronage in my name, and also to be authorized to use my name to advance the chances of Mr. Greeley for an election to the United States Senate.

It is very strange that such things should be said by any one. The gentleman you mention did speak to me of Mr. Greeley in connection with the senatorial election, and I replied in terms of kindness toward Mr. Greeley, which I really feel, but always with an expressed protest that my name must not be used in the senatorial election in favor of, or against, any one. Any other representation of me is a misrepresentation.

As to the matter of dispensing patronage, it perhaps will surprise you to learn that I have in-

formation that you claim to have my authority to arrange that matter in New York. I do not believe that you have so claimed; but still so some men say. On that subject you know all I have said to you is "Justice to all," and I have said nothing more particular to any one. I say this to reassure you that I have not changed my position.

In the hope, however, that you will not use my name in the matter, I am

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

C. H. Fisher.

[*Portion of Letter.*]

Springfield, Illinois, August 27, 1860.

C. H. Fisher.

Dear Sir: Your second note, inclosing the supposed speech of Mr. Dallas to Lord Brougham, is received. I have read the speech quite through, together with the real author's introductory and closing remarks. I have also looked through the long preface of the book to-day. Both seem to be well written, and contain many things with which I could agree, and some with which I could not. A specimen of the latter is the declaration, in the closing remarks upon the "speech," that the institution is a "necessity" imposed on us by the negro race. That the going many thousand miles, seizing a set of savages, bringing them here, and making slaves of them is a necessity imposed on us by them involves a species of logic to which my mind will scarcely assent.

HON. JOHN ———.

[*Private.*]

Springfield, Ill., August 31, 1860.

Hon. John ———.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 27th is duly received— It consists almost exclusively of a historical detail of some local troubles, among some of our friends in Pennsylvania; and I suppose its object is to guard me against forming a prejudice against Mr. McC——. I have not heard near so much upon that subject as you probably suppose; and I am slow to listen to criminations among friends, and never expose their quarrels on either side— My sincere wish is that both sides will allow by-gones to be by-gones, and look to the present and future only.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

JOHN CHRISMAN.

Springfield, Illinois, September 21, 1860.

John Chrisman, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 13th was duly received. I have no doubt that you and I are related. My grandfather's Christian name was "Abraham." He had four brothers—Isaac, Jacob, John, and Thomas. They were born in Pennsylvania, and my grandfather, and some, if not all, the others, in early life removed to Rockingham County, Virginia. There my father —named Thomas—was born. From there my grandfather removed to Kentucky, and was killed by the Indians about the year 1784. His brother Thomas, who was my father's uncle, also

removed to Kentucky—to Fayette County, I think—where, as I understand, he lived and died. I close by repeating I have no doubt you and I are related. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

G. Yoke Tams.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, September 22, 1860.

G. Yoke Tams, Esq.

My dear Sir: Your letter asking me "Are you in favor of a tariff and protection to American industry?" is received. The convention which nominated me, by the twelfth plank of their platform, selected their position on this question; and I have declared my approval of the platform, and accepted the nomination. Now, if I were to publicly shift the position by adding or subtracting anything, the convention would have the right, and probably would be inclined, to displace me as their candidate. And I feel confident that you, on reflection, would not wish me to give private assurances to be seen by some and kept secret from others. I enjoin that this shall by no means be made public.

Yours respectfully, A. Lincoln.

J. M. Brockman.

Springfield, Illinois, September 25, 1860.

J. M. Brockman, Esq.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 24th, asking "the best mode of obtaining a thorough knowledge of the law," is received. The mode is very simple, though laborious and tedious. It is only to get the books and read and study them carefully.

Begin with Blackstone's *Commentaries*, and after reading it carefully through, say twice, take up Chitty's *Pleadings*, Greenleaf's *Evidence*, and Story's *Equity*, etc., in succession. Work, work, work, is the main thing. Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

J. E. Harvey.

[*Private.*]

Springfield, Ill., September 27, 1860.

My dear Sir: Yesterday I was gratified by the receipt of yours of the 22d. There is no reality in that suspicion about Judge Kelley.[1] Neither he nor any other man has obtained or sought such a relation with me.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

October 2, 1860.

My dear Sir: To comply with your request to furnish extracts from my tariff speeches is simply impossible, because none of those speeches were published. It was not fashionable here in those days to report one's public speeches. In 1844 I was on the Clay electoral ticket in this State (i. e., Illinois) and, to the best of my ability, sustained, together, the tariff of 1842 and the tariff plank of the Clay platform. This could be proven by hundreds—perhaps thousands—of living witnesses; still it is not in print, except by inference. The Whig papers of those years all show that I was upon the electoral ticket; even

[1] Judge W. D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, is referred to. Says Francis D. Tandy, "It is supposed that this letter refers to a report of his seeking a second place on the ticket of 1860."

though I made speeches, among other things *about* the tariff, but they do not show *what* I said about it. The papers show that I was one of a committee which reported, among others, a resolution in these words:

"That we are in favor of an adequate revenue on duties from imports so levied as to afford ample protection to American industry."

But after all, was it really any more than the tariff plank of our present platform? And does not my acceptance pledge me to that? And am I at liberty to do more, if I were inclined?

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Professor Gardner.

Springfield, Ill., September 28, 1860.

Dear Sir: Some specimens of your soap have been used at our house and Mrs. L. declares it is a superior article. She at the same time protests that I have never given sufficient attention to the "soap question" to be a competent judge.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

J. H. Reed.

Springfield, Illinois, October 1, 1860.

J. H. Reed, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of September 21st was received some time ago, but I could not till now find time to answer it. I never was in McDonough County till 1858. I never said anything derogatory of Mr. Jefferson in McDonough County or elsewhere. About three weeks ago, for the first time in my life did I ever see or hear the language attributed to me as having

been used toward Mr. Jefferson; and then it was sent to me, as you now send, in order that I might say whether it came from me. I never used any such language at any time. You may rely on the truth of this, although it is my wish that you do not publish it. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

William S. Speer.

[*Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, October 23, 1860.

William S. Speer, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 13th was duly received. I appreciate your motive when you suggest the propriety of my writing for the public something disclaiming all intention to interfere with slaves or slavery in the States; but in my judgment it would do no good. I have already done this many, many times; and it is in print, and open to all who will read. Those who will not read or heed what I have already publicly said would not read or heed a repetition of it. "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

L. Montgomery Bond.

[*Extract.*]

October 15, 1860.

I certainly am in no temper and have no purpose to embitter the feelings of the South, but whether I am inclined to such a course as would in fact embitter their feelings, you can better judge by my published speeches than by any-

thing I would say in a short letter if I were inclined now, as I am not, to define my position anew.

MISS GRACE BEDELL.

[*Private.*]

Springfield, Illinois, October 19, 1860.

My dear little Miss: Your very agreeable letter of the 15th is received. I regret the necessity of saying I have no daughter. I have three sons —one seventeen, one nine, and one seven years of age. They, with their mother, constitute my whole family. As to the whiskers, having never worn any, do you not think people would call it a piece of silly affectation if I were to begin it now? Your very sincere well-wisher,

A. Lincoln.

J. C. LEE.

[*Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, October 24, 1860.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 14th was received some days ago, and should have been answered sooner.

I never gave fifty dollars, nor one dollar, nor one cent, for the object you mention, or any such object.

I once *subscribed* twenty-five dollars, to be paid whenever Judge Logan would decide it was necessary to enable the people of Kansas to defend themselves against any force coming against them from without the Territory, and not by authority of the United States. Logan never made the decision, and I never paid a dollar on the subscription. The whole of this can be seen in the files of the *Illinois Journal*, since the first of June last. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

David Hunter.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, October 26, 1860.

Major David Hunter.

My dear Sir: Your very kind letter of the 20th was duly received, for which please accept my thanks. I have another letter, from a writer unknown to me, saying the officers of the army at Fort Kearney have determined, in case of Republican success at the approaching presidential election, to take themselves, and the arms at that point, South, for the purpose of resistance to the Government. While I think there are many chances to one that this is a humbug, it occurs to me that any real movement of this sort in the army would leak out and become known to you. In such case, if it would not be unprofessional or dishonorable (of which you are to be judge), I shall be much obliged if you will apprise me of it. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, December 22, 1860.

Major David Hunter.

My dear Sir: I am much obliged by the receipt of yours of the 18th. The most we can do now is to watch events, and be as well prepared as possible for any turn things may take. If the forts fall, my judgment is that they are to be retaken. When I shall determine definitely my time of starting to Washington, I will notify you.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

George D. Prentice.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, October 29, 1860.

George D. Prentice, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 26th is just received. Your suggestion that I in a certain event shall write a letter setting forth my conservative views and intentions is certainly a very worthy one. But would it do any good? If I were to labor a month I could not express my conservative views and intentions more clearly and strongly than they are expressed in our platform and in my many speeches already in print and before the public. And yet even you, who do occasionally speak of me in terms of personal kindness, give no prominence to these oft-repeated expressions of conservative views and intentions, but busy yourself with appeals to all conservative men to vote for Douglas—to vote any way which can possibly defeat me—thus impressing your readers that you think I am the very worst man living. If what I have already said has failed to convince you, no repetition of it would convince you. The writing of your letter, now before me, gives assurance that you would publish such a letter from me as you suggest; but, till now, what reason had I to suppose the Louisville *Journal*, even, would publish a repetition of that which is already at its command, and which it does not press upon the public attention?

And now, my friend—for such I esteem you personally—do not misunderstand me. I have not decided that I will not do substantially what you suggest. I will not forbear from doing so merely on punctilio and pluck. If I do finally

abstain, it will be because of apprehension that it would do harm. For the good men of the South—and I regard the majority of them as such—I have no objection to repeat seventy and seven times. But I have bad men to deal with, both North and South; men who are eager for something new upon which to base new misrepresentations; men who would like to frighten me, or at least to fix upon me the character of timidity and cowardice. They would seize upon almost any letter I could write as being an "awful coming down." I intend keeping my eye upon these gentlemen, and to not unnecessarily put any weapons in their hands.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*The following indorsement appears on the back:*]

[*Confidential.*]

The within letter was written on the day of its date, and on reflection withheld till now. It expresses the views I still entertain.

A. Lincoln.

Winfield Scott.

Springfield, Illinois, November 9, 1860.

Lieutenant-General Scott:

Mr. Lincoln tenders his sincere thanks to General Scott for the copy of his "views," etc., which is received; and especially for this renewed manifestation of his patriotic purpose as a citizen, connected, as it is, with his high official position and most distinguished character as a military captain. A. L.

Springfield, Illinois, January 11, 1861.
Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott.

My dear Sir: I herewith beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 4th instant, inclosing (documents Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6) copies of correspondence and notes of conversation with the President of the United States and the Secretary of War concerning various military movements suggested by yourself for the better protection of the Government and the maintenance of public order.

Permit me to renew to you the assurance of my high appreciation of the many past services you have rendered the Union, and of my deep gratification at this evidence of your present active exertions to maintain the integrity and honor of the nation.

I shall be highly pleased to receive from time to time such communications from yourself as you may deem it proper to make to me.

Very truly your obedient servant,
A. Lincoln.

Truman Smith.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, November 10, 1860.
Hon. Truman Smith.

My dear Sir: This is intended as a strictly private letter to you, and not as an answer to yours brought me by Mr. ——. It is with the most profound appreciation of your motive, and highest respect for your judgment, too, that I feel constrained, for the present at least, to make no declaration for the public.

First. I could say nothing which I have not

already said, and which is in print, and open for the inspection of all. To press a repetition of this upon those who have listened, is useless; to press it upon those who have refused to listen, and still refuse, would be wanting in self-respect, and would have an appearance of sycophancy and timidity which would excite the contempt of good men and encourage bad ones to clamor the more loudly.

I am not insensible to any commercial or financial depression that may exist, but nothing is to be gained by fawning around the "respectable scoundrels" who got it up. Let them go to work and repair the mischief of their own making, and then perhaps they will be less greedy to do the like again. Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

N. P. PASCHALL.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, November 16, 1860.

N. P. Paschall, Esq.

My dear Sir: Mr. Ridgely showed me a letter of yours in which you manifest some anxiety that I should make some public declaration with a view to favorably affect the business of the country. I said to Mr. Ridgely I would write you to-day, which I now do.

I could say nothing which I have not already said, and which is in print, and accessible to the public. Please pardon me for suggesting that if the papers like yours, which heretofore have persistently garbled and misrepresented what I have said, will now fully and fairly place it before their readers, there can be no further misunderstanding. I beg you to believe me sincere when

I declare I do not say this in a spirit of complaint or resentment; but that I urge it as the true cure for any real uneasiness in the country that my course may be other than conservative. The Republican newspapers now and for some time past are and have been republishing copious extracts from my many published speeches, which would at once reach the whole public if your class of papers would also publish them. I am not at liberty to shift my ground—that is out of the question. If I thought a repetition would do any good, I would make it. But in my judgment it would do positive harm. The secessionists *per se*, believing they had alarmed me, would clamor all the louder.

Yours, etc., A. Lincoln.

HENRY J. RAYMOND.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, November 28, 1860.

Hon. Henry J. Raymond.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 14th was received in due course. I have delayed so long to answer it, because my reasons for not coming before the public in any form just now had substantially appeared in your paper (the *Times*), and hence I feared they were not deemed sufficient by you, else you would not have written me as you did. I now think we have a demonstration in favor of my view. On the 20th instant Senator Trumbull made a short speech, which I suppose you have both seen and approved. Has a single newspaper, heretofore against us, urged that speech upon its readers with a purpose to quiet public anxiety? Not one, so far as I know. On

the contrary, the Boston *Courier* and its class hold me responsible for that speech, and endeavor to inflame the North with the belief that it foreshadows an abandonment of Republican ground by the incoming administration; while the Washington *Constitution* and its class hold the same speech up to the South as an open declaration of war against them. This is just as I expected, and just what would happen with any declaration I could make. These political fiends are not half sick enough yet. Party malice, and not public good, possesses them entirely. "They seek a sign, and no sign shall be given them." At least such is my present feeling and purpose. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

See letter to William H. Herndon, February 2, 1848.

Springfield, Illinois, November 30, 1860.

Hon. Alexander H. Stephens.

My dear Sir: I have read in the newspapers your speech recently delivered (I think) before the Georgia legislature, or its assembled members. If you have revised it, as is probable, I shall be much obliged if you will send me a copy.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*For your own eye only.*]

Springfield, Illinois, December 22, 1860.

Hon. Alexander H. Stephens.

My dear Sir: Your obliging answer to my short note is just received, and for which please accept my thanks. I fully appreciate the present peril the country is in, and the weight of respon-

sibility on me. Do the people of the South really entertain fears that a Republican administration would, directly or indirectly, interfere with the slaves, or with them about the slaves? If they do, I wish to assure you, as once a friend, and still, I hope, not an enemy, that there is no cause for such fears. The South would be in no more danger in this respect than it was in the days of Washington. I suppose, however, this does not meet the case. You think slavery is right and ought to be extended, while we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted. That, I suppose, is the rub. It certainly is the only substantial difference between us.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Springfield, Illinois, December 8, 1860.

My dear Sir: With your permission I shall at the proper time nominate you to the Senate for confirmation as Secretary of State for the United States. Please let me hear from you at your own earliest convenience.

Your friend and obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, December 8, 1860.

My dear Sir: In addition to the accompanying and more formal note inviting you to take charge of the State Department, I deem it proper to address you this. Rumors have got into the newspapers to the effect that the department named above would be tendered you as a compliment, and with the expectation that you would

decline it. I beg you to be assured that I have said nothing to justify these rumors. On the contrary, it has been my purpose, from the day of the nomination at Chicago, to assign you, by your leave, this place in the Administration. I have delayed so long to communicate that purpose in deference to what appeared to me a proper caution in the case. Nothing has been developed to change my view in the premises; and I now offer you the place in the hope that you will accept it, and with the belief that your position in the public eye, your integrity, ability, learning, and great experience, all combine to render it an appointment preëminently fit to be made.

One word more. In regard to the patronage sought with so much eagerness and jealousy, I have prescribed for myself the maxim, "Justice to all"; and I earnestly beseech your coöperation in keeping the maxim good.

Your friend and obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Springfield, Illinois, January 3, 1861.

Hon. W. H. Seward.

My dear Sir: Yours without signature was received last night. I have been considering your suggestions as to my reaching Washington somewhat earlier than is usual. It seems to me the inauguration is not the most dangerous point for us. Our adversaries have us now clearly at disadvantage. On the second Wednesday of February, when the votes should be officially counted, if the two Houses refuse to meet at all, or meet without a quorum of each, where shall we be?

I do not think that this counting is constitutionally essential to the election; but how are we to proceed in absence of it?

In view of this, I think it best for me not to attempt appearing in Washington till the result of that ceremony is known. It certainly would be of some advantage if you could know who are to be at the heads of the War and Navy departments; but until I can ascertain definitely whether I can get any suitable men from the South, and who, and how many, I cannot well decide. As yet I have no word from Mr. Gilmer in answer to my request for an interview with him. I look for something on the subject, through you, before long. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Springfield, Illinois, January 12, 1861.

Hon. W. H. Seward.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 8th received. I still hope Mr. Gilmer will, on a fair understanding with us, consent to take a place in the Cabinet. The preference for him over Mr. Hunt or Mr. Gentry is that, up to date, he has a living position in the South, while they have not. He is only better than Winter Davis in that he is farther South. I fear if we could get we could not safely take more than one such man—that is, not more than one who opposed us in the election, the danger being to lose the confidence of our own friends.

Your selection for the State Department having become public, I am happy to find scarcely any objection to it. I shall have trouble with every other Northern Cabinet appointment, so

much so that I shall have to defer them as long as possible, to avoid being teased to insanity to make changes.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, February 1, 1861.

Hon. W. H. Seward.

My dear Sir: On the 21st ult. Hon. W. Kellogg, a Republican member of Congress of this State, whom you probably know, was here in a good deal of anxiety seeking to ascertain to what extent I would be consenting for our friends to go in the way of compromise on the now vexed question. While he was with me I received a despatch from Senator Trumbull, at Washington, alluding to the same question and telling me to await letters. I therefore told Mr. Kellogg that when I should receive these letters posting me as to the state of affairs at Washington, I would write to you, requesting you to let him see my letter. To my surprise, when the letters mentioned by Judge Trumbull came they made no allusion to the "vexed question." This baffled me so much that I was near not writing you at all, in compliance to what I have said to Judge Kellogg. I say now, however, as I have all the while said, that on the Territorial question—that is, the question of extending slavery under the national auspices—I am inflexible. I am for no compromise which assists or permits the extension of the institution on soil owned by the nation. And any trick by which the nation is to acquire territory, and then allow some local authority to spread slavery over it, is as obnox-

ious as any other. I take it that to effect some such result as this, and to put us again on the highroad to a slave empire, is the object of all these proposed compromises. I am against it. As to fugitive slaves, District of Columbia, slave-trade among the slave States, and whatever springs of necessity from the fact that the institution is amongst us, I care but little, so that what is done be comely and not altogether outrageous. Nor do I care much about New Mexico, if further extension were hedged against.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Willard's Hotel,
Washington, March 1, 1861.

Hon. W. H. Seward.

Dear Sir: If a successor to General Twiggs is attempted to be appointed, do not allow it to be done. Yours in haste, A. Lincoln.

WILLIAM KELLOGG.

[*Reply to a Letter from Congressman Asking Advice.*]

Entertain no proposition for a compromise in regard to the extension of slavery. The instant you do they have us under again: all our labor is lost, and sooner or later must be done over. Douglas is sure to be again trying to bring in his "popular sovereignty." Have none of it. The tug has to come, and better now than later. You know I think the fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution ought to be enforced—to put it in its mildest form, ought not to be resisted.

December 11, 1860.

"Illinois Journal."

On December 12, 1860, there appeared an unsigned editorial in the *Illinois Journal* of Springfield, which was written by Lincoln. It ran as follows:

We hear such frequent allusions to a supposed purpose on the part of Mr. Lincoln to call into his Cabinet two or three Southern gentlemen from the parties opposed to him politically, that we are prompted to ask a few questions.

First. Is it known that any such gentleman of character would accept a place in the Cabinet?

Second. If yea, on what terms does he surrender to Mr. Lincoln, or Mr. Lincoln to him, on the political differences between them; or do they enter upon the Administration in open opposition to each other?

John A. Gilmer.

[*Strictly Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, December 15, 1860.

Hon. John A. Gilmer.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 10th is received. I am greatly disinclined to write a letter on the subject embraced in yours; and I would not do so, even privately as I do, were it not that I fear you might misconstrue my silence. Is it desired that I shall shift the ground upon which I have been elected? I cannot do it. You need only to acquaint yourself with that ground, and press it on the attention of the South. It is all in print and easy of access. May I be pardoned if I ask whether even you have ever attempted to procure the reading of the Republican platform, or my speeches, by the Southern people? If not,

what reason have I to expect that any additional production of mine would meet a better fate? It would make me appear as if I repented for the crime of having been elected, and was anxious to apologize and beg forgiveness. To so represent me would be the principal use made of any letter I might now thrust upon the public. My old record cannot be so used; and that is precisely the reason that some new declaration is so much sought.

Now, my dear sir, be assured that I am not questioning your candor; I am only pointing out that while a new letter would hurt the cause which I think a just one, you can quite as well effect every patriotic object with the old record. Carefully read pages 18, 19, 74, 75, 88, 89, and 267 of the volume of joint debates between Senator Douglas and myself, with the Republican platform adopted at Chicago, and all your questions will be substantially answered. I have no thought of recommending the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, nor the slave-trade among the slave States, even on the conditions indicated; and if I were to make such recommendation, it is quite clear Congress would not follow it.

As to employing slaves in arsenals and dock-yards, it is a thing I never thought of in my life, to my recollection, till I saw your letter; and I may say of it precisely as I have said of the two points above.

As to the use of patronage in the slave States, where there are few or no Republicans, I do not expect to inquire for the politics of the appointee, or whether he does or not own slaves. I intend in that matter to accommodate the people in the

several localities, if they themselves will allow me to accommodate them. In one word, I never have been, am not now, and probably never shall be in a mood of harassing the people either North or South.

On the Territorial question I am inflexible, as you see my position in the book. On that there is a difference between you and us; and it is the only substantial difference. You think slavery is right and ought to be extended; we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted. For this neither has any just occasion to be angry with the other.

As to the State laws, mentioned in your sixth question, I really know very little of them. I never have read one. If any of them are in conflict with the fugitive-slave clause, or any other part of the Constitution, I certainly shall be glad of their repeal; but I could hardly be justified, as a citizen of Illinois, or as President of the United States, to recommend the repeal of a statute of Vermont or South Carolina.

With the assurance of my highest regards, I subscribe myself,

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

P. S. The documents referred to I suppose you will readily find in Washington. A. L.

Edward Bates.

On December 18, 1860, President elect Lincoln wrote to Edward Bates of Missouri, authorizing him to announce in the *Missouri Democrat* that a place in the Cabinet would be offered Mr. Bates, the department to which he would be assigned not yet having been decided upon.

On February 5, 1861, the President elect invited Mr. Bates to accompany him to Washington on his way to be inaugurated.

I. N. Morris.

Springfield, Ill., December 24, 1860.

Hon. I. N. Morris, Quincy, Ill.

My dear Sir: Without supposing that you and I are any nearer together, politically than heretofore, allow me to tender you my sincere thanks for your Union resolution, expressive of views upon which we never were, and, I trust, never will be at variance.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Lyman Trumbull.

Springfield, Illinois, December 28, 1860.

Hon. Lyman Trumbull.

My dear Sir: General Duff Green is out here endeavoring to draw a letter out of me. I have written one which herewith I inclose to you, and which I believe could not be used to our disadvantage.[1] Still, if on consultation with our discreet friends you conclude that it may do us harm, do not deliver it. You need not mention that the second clause of the letter is copied from the Chicago platform. If, on consultation, our friends, including yourself, think it can do no harm, keep a copy and deliver the letter to General Green. Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

[1] See letter to Duff Green of December 28, 1860.

Simon Cameron.

Springfield, Illinois, December 31, 1860.

Hon. Simon Cameron.

My dear Sir: I think fit to notify you now that by your permission I shall at the proper time nominate you to the United States Senate for confirmation as Secretary of the Treasury, or as Secretary of War—which of the two I have not yet definitely decided. Please answer at your earliest convenience.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Springfield, Illinois, January 3, 1861.

Hon. Simon Cameron.

My dear Sir: Since seeing you things have developed which make it impossible for me to take you into the Cabinet. You will say this comes of an interview with McClure;[1] and this is partly, but not wholly, true. The more potent matter is wholly outside of Pennsylvania; and yet I am not at liberty to specify it. Enough that it appears to me to be sufficient. And now I suggest that you write me declining the appointment, in which case I do not object to its being known that it was tendered you. Better do this at once, before things so change that you cannot honorably decline, and I be compelled to openly recall the tender. No person living knows or has an intimation that I write this letter. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[1] Alexander K. McClure, journalist and lawyer of Pennsylvania. He was opposed to bossism in politics, and so was feared by Cameron.

P. S. Telegraph me instantly on receipt of this, saying, "All right." A. L.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, January 13, 1861.

Hon. Simon Cameron.

My dear Sir: At the suggestion of Mr. Sanderson, and with hearty good-will besides, I herewith send you a letter dated January 3—the same in date as the last you received from me. I thought best to give it that date, as it is in some sort to take the place of that letter. I learn, both by a letter from Mr. Swett and from Mr. Sanderson, that your feelings were wounded by the terms of my letter really of the 3d. I wrote that letter under great anxiety, and perhaps I was not so guarded in its terms as I should have been; but I beg you to be assured I intended no offense. My great object was to have you act quickly, if possible before the matter should be complicated with the Pennsylvania senatorial election. Destroy the offensive letter, or return it to me.

I say to you now I have not doubted that you would perform the duties of a department ably and faithfully. Nor have I for a moment intended to ostracize your friends. If I should make a Cabinet appointment for Pennsylvania before I reach Washington, I will not do so without consulting you, and giving all the weight to your views and wishes which I consistently can. This I have always intended.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Inclosure.*]

Springfield, Illinois, January 3, 1861.

Hon. Simon Cameron.

My dear Sir: When you were here, about the last of December, I handed you a letter saying I should at the proper time nominate you to the Senate for a place in the Cabinet. It is due to you and to truth for me to say you were here by my invitation, and not upon any suggestion of your own. You have not as yet signified to me whether you would accept the appointment, and with much pain I now say to you that you will relieve me from great embarrassment by allowing me to recall the offer. This springs from an unexpected complication, and not from any change of my view as to the ability or faithfulness with which you would discharge the duties of the place. I now think I will not definitely fix upon any appointment for Pennsylvania until I reach Washington.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

J. T. Hale.

[*Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, January 11, 1861.

Hon. J. T. Hale.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 6th is received. I answer it only because I fear you would misconstrue my silence. What is our present condition? We have just carried an election on principles fairly stated to the people. Now we are told in advance the government shall be broken up unless we surrender to those we have beaten, before we take the offices. In this they are either at-

tempting to play upon us or they are in dead earnest. Either way, if we surrender, it is the end of us and of the government. They will repeat the experiment upon us *ad libitum.* A year will not pass till we shall have to take Cuba as a condition upon which they will stay in the Union. They now have the Constitution under which we have lived over seventy years, and acts of Congress of their own framing, with no prospect of their being changed; and they can never have a more shallow pretext for breaking up the Government, or extorting a compromise, than now. There is in my judgment but one compromise which would really settle the slavery question, and that would be a prohibition against acquiring any more territory.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

John E. Wool.

Springfield, Illinois, January 14, 1861.

General John E. Wool.

My dear Sir: Many thanks for your patriotic and generous letter of the 11th instant. As to how far the military force of the Government may become necessary to the preservation of the Union, and more particularly how that force can best be directed to the object, I must chiefly rely upon General Scott and yourself. It affords me the profoundest satisfaction to know that with both of you judgment and feeling go heartily with your sense of professional and official duty to the work.

It is true that I have given but little attention to the military department of Government; but, be assured, I cannot be ignorant as to who Gen-

eral Wool is, or what he has done. With my highest esteem and gratitude, I subscribe myself

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Responses to Invitations.

For a fortnight previously to his departure for Washington, which took place on February 11, 1861, the President elect received a number of invitations to stop at various cities and make addresses while on his journey to the capital. He answered each with a formal acceptance or declination, of which the following will serve as an example:

Messrs. J. G. Lowe, T. A. Phillips, and W. H. Gillespie, *Committee.*

Springfield, Illinois, February 7, 1861.

Gentlemen: Your note of to-day, inviting me while on my way to Washington to pass through the town and accept the hospitalities of the citizens of Dayton, Ohio, is before me.

A want of the necessary time makes it impossible for me to stop in your town. If it will not retard my arrival at or departure from the city of Columbus, I will endeavor to pass through and at least bow to the friends there; if, however, it would in any wise delay me, they must not even expect this, but be content instead to receive through you my warmest thanks for the kindness and cordiality with which they have tendered this invitation.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

(After March 4, 1861)

CORRESPONDENCE

(After March 4, 1861)

William H. Seward.[1]

Executive Mansion, March 4, 1861.

My dear Sir: Your note of the 2d instant, asking to withdraw your acceptance of my invitation to take charge of the State Department, was duly received. It is the subject of the most painful solicitude with me, and I feel constrained to beg that you will countermand the withdrawal. The public interest, I think, demands that you should; and my personal feelings are deeply enlisted in the same direction. Please consider and answer by 9 A. M. to-morrow.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Executive Chamber, March 7, 1861.

My dear Sir: Herewith is the diplomatic address and my reply. To whom the reply should be addressed—that is, by what title or style—I do not quite understand, and therefore I have left it blank.

Will you please bring with you to-day the

[1] Secretary Seward at first was ambitious to be the "power behind the throne" of the Administration. Accordingly he presented his withdrawal to the President, hoping for its acceptance, in which case the country would have exerted pressure upon Lincoln to urge Seward to reconsider his determination, and the Secretary would then return to the Cabinet with more power than the President. Remarking, "I can't afford to let Seward take the first trick," Lincoln wrote him this letter.

message from the War Department, with General Scott's note upon it, which we had here yesterday? I wish to examine the general's opinion, which I have not yet done.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 11, 1861.

Hon. Secretary of State.

My dear Sir: What think you of sending ministers at once as follows: Dayton to England; Frémont to France; Clay to Spain; Corwin to Mexico?

We need to have these points guarded as strongly and quickly as possible. This is suggestion merely, and not dictation.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 18, 1861.

Hon. Secretary of State.

My dear Sir: I believe it is a necessity with us to make the appointments I mentioned last night—that is, Charles F. Adams to England, William L. Dayton to France, George P. Marsh to Sardinia, and Anson Burlingame to Austria. These gentlemen all have my highest esteem, but no one of them is originally suggested by me except Mr. Dayton. Mr. Adams I take because you suggested him, coupled with his eminent fitness for the place. Mr. Marsh and Mr. Burlingame I take because of the intense pressure of their respective States, and their fitness also.

The objection to this card is that locally they are so huddled up—three being in New England and two from a single State. I have considered this, and will not shrink from the responsibility. This, being done, leaves but five full

missions undisposed of—Rome, China, Brazil, Peru, and Chili. And then what about Carl Schurz; or, in other words, what about our German friends?

Shall we put the card through, and arrange the rest afterward? What say you?

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

[*Memorandum from Secretary Seward.*]

Some Thoughts for the President's Consideration, April 1, 1861.

First. We are at the end of a month's administration, and yet without a policy either domestic or foreign.

Second. This, however, is not culpable, and it has even been unavoidable. The presence of the Senate, with the need to meet applications for patronage, have prevented attention to other and more grave matters.

Third. But further delay to adopt and prosecute our policies for both domestic and foreign affairs would not only bring scandal on the Administration, but danger upon the country.

Fourth. To do this we must dismiss the applicants for office. But how? I suggest that we make the local appointments forthwith, leaving foreign or general ones for ulterior and occasional action.

Fifth. The policy at home. I am aware that my views are singular, and perhaps not sufficiently explained. My system is built upon this idea as a ruling one, namely, that we must

CHANGE THE QUESTION BEFORE THE PUBLIC FROM ONE UPON SLAVERY, OR ABOUT SLAVERY, for a question upon UNION OR DISUNION.

In other words, from what would be regarded as a party question, to one of patriotism or union.

The occupation or evacuation of Fort Sumter, although not in fact a slavery or a party question, is so regarded. Witness the temper manifested by the Republicans in the free States, and even by the Union men in the South.

I would therefore terminate it as a safe means for

changing the issue. I deem it fortunate that the last Administration created the necessity.

For the rest, I would simultaneously defend and reinforce all the ports in the gulf, and have the navy recalled from foreign stations to be prepared for a blockade. Put the island of Key West under martial law.

This will raise distinctly the question of union or disunion. I would maintain every fort and possession in the South.

FOR FOREIGN NATIONS.

I would demand explanations from Spain and France, categorically, at once.

I would seek explanations from Great Britain and Russia, and send agents into Canada, Mexico, and Central America to rouse a vigorous continental spirit of independence on this continent against European intervention.

And, if satisfactory explanations are not received from Spain and France,

Would convene Congress and declare war against them.

But whatever policy we adopt, there must be an energetic prosecution of it.

For this purpose it must be somebody's business to pursue and direct it incessantly.

Either the President must do it himself, and be all the while active in it, or

Devolve it on some member of his Cabinet. Once adopted, debates on it must end, and all agree and abide.

It is not in my especial province;

But I neither seek to evade nor assume responsibility.

[*Reply to Secretary Seward's Memorandum.*]

Executive Mansion, April 1, 1861.

Hon. W. H. Seward.

My dear Sir: Since parting with you I have been considering your paper dated this day, and entitled "Some Thoughts for the President's Consideration." The first proposition in it is, "*First,* We are at the end of a month's adminis-

tration, and yet without a policy either domestic or foreign."

At the beginning of that month, in the inaugural, I said: "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts." This had your distinct approval at the time; and, taken in connection with the order I immediately gave General Scott, directing him to employ every means in his power to strengthen and hold the forts, comprises the exact domestic policy you now urge, with the single exception that it does not propose to abandon Fort Sumter.

Again, I do not perceive how the reinforcement of Fort Sumter would be done on a slavery or a party issue, while that of Fort Pickens would be on a more national and patriotic one.

The news received yesterday in regard to St. Domingo certainly brings a new item within the range of our foreign policy; but up to that time we have been preparing circulars and instructions to ministers and the like, all in perfect harmony, without even a suggestion that we had no foreign policy.

Upon your closing propositions—that "whatever policy we adopt, there must be an energetic prosecution of it.

"For this purpose it must be somebody's business to pursue and direct it incessantly.

"Either the President must do it himself, and be all the while active in it, or

"Devolve it on some member of his Cabinet. Once adopted, debates on it must end, and all agree and abide"—I remark that if this must be done, I must do it. When a general line of pol-

icy is adopted, I apprehend there is no danger of its being changed without good reason, or continuing to be a subject of unnecessary debate; still, upon points arising in its progress I wish, and suppose I am entitled to have, the advice of all the Cabinet.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.[1]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 7, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of State.

My dear Sir: Mr. James F. B. Marshall, of Massachusetts, is now with me on the question of the Honolulu commissioner. It pains me some that this tilt for the place of Colonel Baker's friend grows so fierce now the colonel is no longer alive to defend him. I presume, however, we shall have no rest from it. Mr. Marshall appears to be a very intelligent gentleman, and well acquainted with the affairs of the Sandwich Islands. The California delegation also expect the place for some one of their citizens. In self-defense I am disposed to say, "Make a selection and send it to me."

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, June 28, 1862.

Hon. W. H. Seward.

My dear Sir: My view of the present condition of the war is about as follows:

The evacuation of Corinth and our delay by the flood in the Chickahominy have enabled the enemy to concentrate too much force in Rich-

[1] This reply of the President to Seward's astounding propositions, showed the ambitious Secretary that he had met his master. Thereafter he subordinated himself to the Executive, and became the most tractable of counsellors.

mond for McClellan to successfully attack. In fact there soon will be no substantial rebel force anywhere else. But if we send all the force from here to McClellan, the enemy will, before we can know of it, send a force from Richmond and take Washington. Or if a large part of the western army be brought here to McClellan, they will let us have Richmond, and retake Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, etc. What should be done is to hold what we have in the West, open the Mississippi, and take Chattanooga and East Tennessee without more. A reasonable force should in every event be kept about Washington for its protection. Then let the country give us a hundred thousand new troops in the shortest possible time, which, added to McClellan directly or indirectly, will take Richmond without endangering any other place which we now hold, and will substantially end the war. I expect to maintain this contest until successful, or till I die, or am conquered, or my term expires, or Congress or the country forsake me; and I would publicly appeal to the country for this new force were it not that I fear a general panic and stampede would follow, so hard it is to have a thing understood as it really is. I think the new force should be all, or nearly all, infantry, principally because such can be raised most cheaply and quickly.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.[1]

On June 29, 1862, the President telegraphed to Secretary Seward at the Astor House, New York, information received through an eye-witness, of the battle of the

[1] This letter was not intended to inform Seward, but to serve as his credentials in a conference with the State Governors to recruit troops. Seward was successful in his mission.

Chickahominy (Gaines's Mill) on June 27, 1862, in which Fitz-John Porter fell back stubbornly fighting Lee. "On the whole I think we had the better of it" up to 7 A. M. Saturday, June 28. . . . "All confirmed about saving all property" (pontoons, etc.).

On June 30, 1862, the President telegraphed that, though without news from McClellan, that general had "effected everything in such exact accordance with his plans, contingently announced to us before the battle began, that we feel justified to hope he has not failed since."

He had a severe engagement in getting the part of his army on this side of the Chickahominy over to the other side, in which the enemy lost certainly as much as we did. We are not dissatisfied with this, only that the loss of enemies does not compensate for the loss of friends. The enemy cannot come below White House; certainly is not there now, and probably has abandoned the whole line. Dix's pickets are at New Kent Court House. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 20, 1862.

Hon. William H. Seward and Hon. Salmon P. Chase.[1]

Gentlemen: You have respectively tendered me your resignations as Secretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. I am apprised of the circumstances which may

[1] The Radicals in Congress disliked Secretary Seward, and wished Lincoln to get rid of him. Seward offered his resignation to Lincoln, which Lincoln held till he had contrived to get a resignation from Chase, the Radical member of the Cabinet. Then remarking: "I have a pumpkin in each end of my bag; now I can ride," he wrote the following letter. As resignation of either Secretary alone would have left the other victorious, neither resigned.

render this course personally desirable to each of you; but after most anxious consideration my deliberate judgment is that the public interest does not admit of it. I therefore have to request that you will resume the duties of your departments respectively.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

On April 21, 1863, the President wrote to Secretaries Seward and Welles in reference to the disposition of foreign mails captured on Confederate blockade-runners.

[*Instructions.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 31, 1865.

Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State.

You will proceed to Fortress Monroe, Virginia, there to meet and informally confer with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, on the basis of my letter to F. P. Blair, Esq., of January 18, 1865, a copy of which you have. You will make known to them that three things are indispensable—to wit:

1. The restoration of the national authority throughout all the States.

2. No receding by the Executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress, and in preceding documents.

3. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the Government.

You will inform them that all propositions of theirs, not inconsistent with the above, will be considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality. You will hear all they may choose to

say and report it to me. You will not assume to definitely consummate anything.[1]

Yours, etc., Abraham Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 6, 1865.

Hon. Secretary of State.

My dear Sir: I have some wish that Thomas D. Jones, of Cincinnati, and John J. Piatt, now in this city, should have some of those moderate sized consulates which facilitate artists a little in their profession. Please watch for chances.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Winfield Scott.

On March 9, 1861, Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, wrote to Lieutenant-General Scott, saying:

I am directed by the President to say he desires you to exercise all possible vigilance for the maintenance of all the places within the military department of the United States, and to promptly call upon all the departments of the Government for the means necessary to that end.

Executive Mansion, March 9, 1861.

Lieutenant-General Scott.

My dear Sir: On the 5th instant I received from the Hon. Joseph Holt, the then faithful and vigilant Secretary of War, a letter of that date, inclosing a letter and accompanying documents received by him on the 4th instant from Major Robert Anderson, commanding Fort Sumter,

[1] The negotiations were abortive.

South Carolina; and copies of all which I now transmit. Immediately on receipt of them by me, I transmitted the whole to you for your consideration; and the same day you returned the package to me with your opinion indorsed upon it, a copy of which opinion I now also transmit to you. Learning from you verbally that since then you have given the subject a more full and thorough consideration, you will much oblige me by giving answers, in writing, to the following interrogatories:

(1) To what point of time can Major Anderson maintain his position at Fort Sumter, without fresh supplies or reinforcements?

(2) Can you, with all the means now in your control, supply or reinforce Fort Sumter within that time?

(3) If not, what amount of means, and of what description, in addition to that already at your control, would enable you to supply and reinforce that fortress within the time?

Please answer these, adding such statements, information, and counsel as your great skill and experience may suggest.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

On March 11 and 12 General Scott replied to the above letter, giving the information desired, and recommending that Fort Sumter be evacuated.

Executive Mansion, April 1, 1861.

Lieutenant-General Scott.

Would it impose too much labor on General Scott to make short comprehensive daily reports to me of what occurs in his department, including movements by himself, and under his orders,

and the receipt of intelligence? If not, I will thank him to do so.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

General Scott for a time obeyed the request.

[*Order.*]

Washington, April 25, 1861.

Lieutenant-General Scott.

My dear Sir: The Maryland legislature assembles to-morrow at Annapolis, and not improbably will take action to arm the people of that State against the United States. The question has been submitted to and considered by me, whether it would not be justifiable, upon the ground of necessary defense, for you, as general-in-chief of the United States army, to arrest or disperse the members of that body. I think it would not be justifiable nor efficient for the desired object.

First, they have a clearly legal right to assemble; and we cannot know in advance that their action will not be lawful and peaceful. And if we wait until they shall have acted, their arrest or dispersion will not lessen the effect of their action.

Secondly, we cannot permanently prevent their action. If we arrest them, we cannot long hold them as prisoners; and, when liberated, they will immediately reassemble and take their action; and precisely the same if we simply disperse them —they will immediately reassemble in some other place.

I therefore conclude that it is only left to the commanding general to watch and await their action, which, if it shall be to arm their people

against the United States, he is to adopt the most prompt and efficient means to counteract, even, if necessary, to the bombardment of their cities, and, in the extremest necessity, the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

On April 27, 1861, the President authorized General Scott to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* at his discretion along the military line between Philadelphia and Washington. On July 2, this was extended to the line between New York and Philadelphia.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, June 5, 1861.

Lieutenant-General Scott.

My dear Sir: Doubtless you begin to understand how disagreeable it is for me to do a thing arbitrarily when it is unsatisfactory to others associated with me.

I very much wish to appoint Colonel Meigs quartermaster-general, and yet General Cameron does not quite consent. I have come to know Colonel Meigs quite well for a short acquaintance, and, so far as I am capable of judging, I do not know one who combines the qualities of masculine intellect, learning, and experience of the right sort, and physical power of labor and endurance, so well as he.

I know he has great confidence in you, always sustaining, so far as I have observed, your opinions against any differing ones.

You will lay me under one more obligation if you can and will use your influence to remove General Cameron's objection. I scarcely need tell you I have nothing personal in this, having never

seen or heard of Colonel Meigs until about the end of last March.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Evidently General Scott used his influence with Secretary Cameron in the way desired, as Meigs was appointed.

Washington, D. C., September 16, 1861.

Lieutenant-General Scott.

My dear Sir: Since conversing with you I have concluded to request you to frame an order for recruiting North Carolinians at Fort Hatteras. I suggest it to be so framed as for us to accept a smaller force—even a company—if we cannot get a regiment or more. What is necessary to now say about officers you will judge. Governor Seward says he has a nephew (Clarence A. Seward, I believe) who would be willing to go and play colonel and assist in raising the force. Still it is to be considered whether the North Carolinians will not prefer officers of their own. I should expect they would.[1]

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

On October 14, 1861, President Lincoln authorized Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott to suspend, if that was necessary, the writ of *habeas corpus* as far north as Bangor, Maine.

[*General Orders No. 94.*]

War Department, November 1, 1861.

The following order from the President of the United States announcing the retirement from active command of the honored veteran Lieu-

[1] And they did.

tenant-General Winfield Scott will be read by the army with profound regret:

Executive Mansion, November 1, 1861.

On the 1st day of November, A.D. 1861, upon his own application to the President of the United States, Brevet Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott is ordered to be placed, and hereby is placed, upon the list of retired officers of the army of the United States, without reduction in his current pay, subsistence, or allowances.

The American people will hear with sadness and deep emotion that General Scott has withdrawn from the active control of the army, while the President and a unanimous Cabinet express their own and the nation's sympathy in his personal afflictions, and their profound sense of the important public services rendered by him to his country during his long and brilliant career, among which will ever be gratefully distinguished his faithful devotion to the Constitution, the Union, and the flag when assailed by parricidal rebellion. Abraham Lincoln.

The President is pleased to direct that Major-General George B. McClellan assume the command of the army of the United States.

The headquarters of the army will be established in the city of Washington.

All communications intended for the commanding general will hereafter be addressed direct to the adjutant-general.

The duplicate returns, orders, and other papers heretofore sent to the assistant adjutant-general, headquarters of the army, will be discontinued.

By order of the Secretary of War:

L. Thomas, Adjutant-General.

Executive Mansion, March 1, 1865.

To Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, President; Howard Potter, Wm. E. Dodge, Jr., and Theo. Roosevelt.[1]

Gentlemen: I have received your address on the part of the Bureau for the Employment of Disabled and Discharged Soldiers which has recently been established in connection with the Protective War Claim Association of the Sanitary Commission.

It gives me pleasure to assure you of my hearty concurrence with the purposes you announce, and I shall at all times be ready to recognize the paramount claims of the soldiers of the nation in the disposition of public trusts. I shall be glad also to make these suggestions to the several heads of departments.

I am, very truly, your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

THE CABINET.

For the President's correspondence on March 15, 1861, and March 29, 1861, with members of his Cabinet in relation to the relief of Fort Sumter, see vol. vi, pages 169 and 173.

On December 23, 1862, the President wrote for opinions from each member of the Cabinet on the admission of the State of West Virginia: 1st, whether it was constitutional, and, 2d, whether it was expedient. The answers were favorable, and West Virginia was admitted.

Executive Mansion, May 3, 1864.

Sir: It is now quite certain that a large number of our colored soldiers, with their white officers, were by the rebel force massacred after they had surrendered, at the recent capture of

[1] Prominent citizens of New York. Mr. Roosevelt was the father of President Roosevelt.

Fort Pillow.[1] So much is known, though the evidence is not yet quite ready to be laid before me. Meanwhile I will thank you to prepare, and give me in writing, your opinion as to what course the Government should take in the case.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Memorandum.*] [2]

I must myself be the judge how long to retain in and when to remove any of you from his position. It would greatly pain me to discover any of you endeavoring to procure another's removal, or in any way to prejudice him before the public. Such endeavor would be a wrong to me, and, much worse, a wrong to the country. My wish is that on this subject no remark be made nor question asked by any of you, here or elsewhere, now or hereafter.

[About July 14, 1864.]

[1] The Confederate cavalry general, Nathan B. Forrest, carried Fort Pillow, Tennessee, on the Mississippi, by assault, on April 12, 1864. About 300 of the garrison, negroes and their white officers, were murdered in cold blood after their surrender. In a speech at the Baltimore Sanitary Fair, on April 18, 1864, the President promised retaliation.

The Cabinet was divided in its advice, and it was decided to await the outcome of General Ulysses S. Grant's Wilderness campaign, which was then being prosecuted, for conclusive action on the Fort Pillow affair. The subject, however, was never renewed.

[2] At this time the presence in the Cabinet of Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-General, had become obnoxious to certain members of Congress and their especial friends in the Cabinet. (See letter to Edwin M. Stanton of July 14, 1864.) On September 23, 1864, the President asked for General Blair's resignation.

Simon Cameron.

On March 29, 1861, President Lincoln wrote Secretary Cameron of the War Department, saying that he desired him to coöperate with the Secretary of the Navy in preparing an expedition for the provisioning of Fort Sumter, to sail as early as April 6, 1861. Lincoln enclosed the details of the expedition.

Executive Mansion, May 13, 1861.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Dear Sir: You see on the other side of this sheet that four German regiments already raised in New York wish to form a brigade and have Carl Schurz for their brigadier-general. Why should it not be done at once? By the plan of organization, I see I am to appoint the generals.

Schurz says he would, if allowed, go immediately to Fortress Monroe; and if it would be an objection that, by rank, he would command the garrison there, he would, of choice, waive that.

I am for it, unless there be some valid reason against it.

Answer soon.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

On June 13, 1861, the President wrote to the Secretary of War for his approval of receiving in the service the Massachusetts regiment commanded by Fletcher Webster, the son of Daniel Webster.

On June 17, 1861, the President expressed himself to the Secretary of War as approving the acceptance into the three years' service of not exceeding four additional regiments from Indiana, and not exceeding six additional regiments from Ohio. He added:

Probably they should come from the triangular region between the Ohio and Wabash Rivers, including my own old boyhood home.

On June 20, 1861, the President wrote to Secretary Cameron advising him to appoint James H. Lane of Kansas, brigadier-general of volunteers with authority to raise a force, and instructions to get to work immediately. "Tell him, when he starts, to put it through —not to be writing or telegraphing back here, but put it through."

The President's suggestion was carried out.

On August 7, 1861, the President wrote to Secretary Cameron, submitting a paper by Congressmen John S. Phelps and Francis P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, whose object was to raise a force of Missourians in the southwestern part of the State. The President requested that the Missouri troops already enlisted be put under Mr. Phelps's control. "I hope this can be done, because Mr. Phelps is too zealous and efficient and understands his ground too well for us to lose his service."

On August 8, 1861, the President recommended to Secretary Cameron for a lieutenancy, Edward Ellsworth, cousin of Colonel Elmer Ellsworth, who fell at Alexandria, Va. Mr. Lincoln said:

He is present while I write this, and he is an intelligent and an exceedingly wary-appearing young man of twenty years of age. I shall be glad if a place can be found for him.

Executive Mansion, August 17, 1861.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: Unless there be reason to the contrary, not known to me, make out a commission for Simon Buckner, of Kentucky, as a brigadier-general of volunteers. It is to be put into the hands of General Anderson, and delivered to General Buckner or not, at the discretion

of General Anderson. Of course it is to remain a secret unless and until the commission is delivered.

The commission was not executed. Buckner entered the Confederate service.

Executive Mansion, September 18, 1861.
Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: To guard against misunderstanding, I think fit to say that the joint expedition of the army and navy agreed upon some time since, and in which General T. W. Sherman was and is to bear a conspicuous part, is in no wise to be abandoned, but must be ready to move by the 1st of, or very early in, October. Let all preparations go forward accordingly.[1]

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, January 11, 1862.
Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: As you have more than once expressed a desire for a change of position, I can now gratify you consistently with my view of the public interest. I therefore propose nominating you to the Senate next Monday as minister to Russia.

Very sincerely, your friend, A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, January 11, 1862.
Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War.

Dear Sir: Though I have said nothing hitherto in response to your wish, expressed long since,

[1] The expedition did not start until October 29th. On November 7th it captured Port Royal, S. C., and with it command of all inland water communication between Charleston and Savannah.

to resign your seat in the Cabinet, I have not been unmindful of it. I have been only unwilling to consent to a change at a time and under circumstances which might give occasion to misconstruction, and unable till now to see how such misconstruction could be avoided.

But the desire of Mr. Clay to return home and to offer his services to his country in the field enables me now to gratify your wish, and at the same time evince my personal regard for you, and my confidence in your ability, patriotism, and fidelity to public trust.

I therefore tender to your acceptance, if you still desire to resign your present position, the post of minister to Russia. Should you accept it, you will bear with you the assurance of my undiminished confidence, of my affectionate esteem, and of my sure expectation that, near the great sovereign whose personal and hereditary friendship for the United States so much endears him to Americans, you will be able to render services to your country not less important than those you could render at home.

Very sincerely, your friend, A. Lincoln.

On the same day Secretary Cameron accepted the change of official duties, concluding his letter as follows:

In retiring from the War Department I feel that the mighty army of the United States is ready to do battle for the Constitution; that it is marshaled by gallant and experienced leaders; that it is animated with the greatest enthusiasm for the good cause, and also that my successor in this department is my personal friend, who unites to wonderful intellect and vigor the grand

essential of being in earnest in the present struggle, and of being resolved upon a speedy and overwhelming triumph of our arms. I therefore frankly accept the new distinction you have tendered me, and as soon as important and long-neglected private business can be arranged I will enter upon the important duties of the mission which you have assigned me.

[*Cipher.*]

War Department, July 15, 1863.

Hon. Simon Cameron, Harrisburg, Pa.

Your despatch of yesterday received. Lee was already across the river when you sent it. I would give much to be relieved of the impression that Meade, Smith, and all since the battle at Gettysburg, have striven only to get Lee over the river without another fight. Please tell me, if you know, who was the one corps commander who was for fighting in the council of war on Sunday night.[1] A. Lincoln.

JOHN T. STUART.

Washington, March 30, 1861.

Dear Stuart: Cousin Lizzie shows me your letter of the 27th. The question of giving her the Springfield post-office troubles me. You see I have already appointed William Jayne a Terri-

[1] "Councils of war never fight," said General-in-chief Halleck, and this one was an example of the truth of his statement. It advised Meade to let Lee withdraw over the Potomac without another battle. The President was heart-broken over this failure to deal the Confederacy a finishing blow, and undoubtedly had it in mind to replace Meade with the one corps commander who wished to fight. This was General Oliver O. Howard, whose bad luck at Chancellorsville had made him an undesirable selection, so Meade was retained.

torial governor and Judge Trumbull's brother to a land-office— Will it do for me to go on and justify the declaration that Trumbull and I have divided out all the offices among our relatives? Dr. Wallace, you know, is needy, and looks to me; and I personally owe him much.

I see by the papers, a vote is to be taken as to the post-office. Could you not set up Lizzie and beat them all? She, being here, need know nothing of it, so therefore there would be no indelicacy on her part. Yours, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

David D. Porter.

On April 1, 1861, the President ordered Lieutenant Porter of the Navy to take command of any available naval steamer and "proceed to Pensacola Harbor, and at any cost or risk prevent any expedition from the mainland reaching Fort Pickens or Santa Rosa Island." Lieutenant Porter selected the *Powhatan*; see letter to Gideon Welles of May 11, 1861.

On July 11, 1862, the President recommended Commander Porter to receive the thanks of Congress "for distinguished services in the conception and preparation of the means used for the capture of the forts below New Orleans (on April 28, 1862), and for highly meritorious conduct in the management of the mortar flotilla during the bombardment of Forts Jackson and St. Philip (April 18, 1861)."

On January 28, 1863, the President recommended Commander Porter, acting rear-admiral of the Mississippi squadron, to receive the thanks of Congress "for the bravery and skill displayed in the attack on the post of Arkansas, which surrendered to the combined military and naval forces on the 10th instant."

Samuel Mercer.

In temporarily superseding Samuel Mercer, of the *Powhatan*, by David D. Porter, the President, on April

2, 1861, very delicately assured him that this was no reflection upon his efficiency and patriotism, since it was for a special purpose of which Porter had special knowledge. See also letter to Secretary Welles, of May 4, 1861.

ROBERT ANDERSON.

[*Instructions to Major Anderson, Drafted by the President and Signed by the Secretary of War.*]

War Department, April 4, 1861.

Sir: Your letter of the 1st instant occasions some anxiety to the President.

On the information of Captain Fox, he had supposed you could hold out till the 15th instant without any great inconvenience, and had prepared an expedition to relieve you before that period.

Hoping still that you will be able to sustain yourself till the 11th or 12th instant, the expedition will go forward, and, finding your flag flying, will attempt to provision you, and in case the effort is resisted, will endeavor also to reinforce you.

You will therefore hold out, if possible, till the arrival of the expedition.

It is not, however, the intention of the President to subject your command to any danger or hardship beyond what, in your judgment, would be usual in military life; and he has entire confidence that you will act as becomes a patriot and a soldier under all circumstances.

Whenever, if at all, in your judgment, to save yourself and command, a capitulation becomes a necessity, you are authorized to make it.

Respectfully,

Simon Cameron, Secretary of War.

[*Indorsement by Lincoln.*]

This was sent by Captain Talbot on April 6, 1861, to be delivered to Major Anderson, if permitted. On reaching Charleston, he was refused permission to deliver it to Major Anderson.

Washington, D. C., May 1, 1861.

Major Robert Anderson.

My dear Sir: A few days ago I caused an official letter to be written to you, through the War Department, expressive of the approbation and gratitude I consider due you and your command from this Government.

I now write this as a purely private and social letter to say I shall be much gratified to see you here at your earliest convenience when and where I can personally testify my appreciation of your services and fidelity, and perhaps explain some things on my part which you may not have understood.

I shall also be very glad to see any of the officers who served with you at Fort Sumter, and whom it might be convenient and agreeable for you to invite to accompany you here.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Supplementary to the proclamation, of May 7, 1861, calling for 42,034 volunteers, President Lincoln gave an order to Colonel Anderson to enlist volunteers in Kentucky and Western Virginia.

ROBERT S. CHEW.

Washington, April 6, 1861.

Sir: You will proceed directly to Charleston, South Carolina; and if, on your arrival there,

the flag of the United States shall be flying over Fort Sumter, and the fort shall not have been attacked, you will procure an interview with Governor Pickens, and read to him as follows: "I am directed by the President of the United States to notify you to expect an attempt will be made to supply Fort Sumter with provisions only; and that, if such attempt be not resisted, no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammunition will be made without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort."

After you shall have read this to Governor Pickens, deliver to him the copy of it herein inclosed, and retain this letter yourself.

But if, on your arrival at Charleston, you shall ascertain that Fort Sumter shall have been already evacuated, or surrendered by the United States force, or shall have been attacked by an opposing force, you will seek no interview with Governor Pickens, but return here forthwith.

Simon Cameron, Secretary of War.

Charles Francis Adams.

Before his departure for England, Mr. Adams, the newly appointed Minister to the Court of St. James's, received through Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, certain instructions given in the name of the President, of which the following are the most important.

Department of State, April 10, 1861.

. . . . .

First. The President has noticed, as the whole American people have, with much emotion, the expressions of good will and friendship toward the United States, and of concern for their present embarrassments, which have

been made on apt occasions, by her Majesty and her ministers.

You will make due acknowledgment for these manifestations, but at the same time you will not rely on any mere sympathies or national kindness. You will make no admissions of weakness in our Constitution, or of apprehension on the part of the Government. You will rather prove, as you easily can, by comparing the history of our country with that of other States, that its Constitution and Government are really the strongest and surest which have ever been erected for the safety of any people. You will in no case listen to any suggestions of compromises by this Government under foreign auspices, with its discontented citizens. If, as the President does not at all apprehend, you shall unhappily find her Majesty's Government tolerating the application of the so-called seceding States, or wavering about it, you will not leave them to suppose for a moment that they can grant that application and remain friends with the United States. You may even assure them promptly, in that case, that if they determine to recognize, they may at the same time prepare to enter into alliance with the enemies of this republic. You alone will represent your country at London, and you will represent the whole of it there. When you are asked to divide that duty with others, diplomatic relations between the Government of Great Britain and this Government will be suspended, and will remain so until it shall be seen which of the two is most strongly intrenched in the confidence of their respective nations and of mankind.

You will not be allowed, however, even if you

were disposed, as the President is sure you will not be, to rest your opposition to the application of the Confederate States on the ground of any favor this Administration, or the party which chiefly called it into existence, proposes to show to Great Britain, or claims that Great Britain ought to show them. You will not consent to draw into debate before the British Government any opposing moral principles which may be supposed to lie at the foundation of the controversy between those States and the Federal Union.

You will indulge in no expressions of harshness or disrespect, or even impatience concerning the seceding States, their agents, or their people. But you will, on the contrary, all the while remember that those States are now, as they always heretofore have been, and, notwithstanding their temporary self-delusion, they must always continue to be, equal and honored members of this Federal Union, and that their citizens throughout all political misunderstandings and alienations, still are and always must be our kindred and countrymen. In short, all your arguments must belong to one of three classes, namely: First. Arguments drawn from the principles of public law and natural justice, which regulate the intercourse of equal States. Secondly. Arguments which concern equally the honor, welfare, and happiness of the discontented States, and the honor, welfare, and happiness of the whole Union. Thirdly. Arguments which are equally conservative of the rights and interests, and even sentiments of the United States, and just in their bearing upon the rights, interests, and sentiments of Great Britain and all other nations.

The following instructions were given to Mr. Adams by Mr. Seward, after corrections in the text had been made by the President.

Department of State, May 21, 1861.

Sir: Mr. Dallas, in a brief despatch of May 2d, tells us that Lord John Russell recently requested an interview with him on account of the solicitude which his lordship felt concerning the effect of certain measures represented as likely to be adopted by the President. In that conversation the British secretary told Mr. Dallas that the three representatives of the Southern Confederacy were then in London, that Lord John Russell had not yet seen them, but that he was not unwilling to see them unofficially. He further informed Mr. Dallas that an understanding exists between the British and French governments which would lead both to take one and the same course as to recognition. His lordship then referred to the rumor of a meditated blockade by us of Southern ports, and a discontinuance of them as ports of entry. Mr. Dallas answered that he knew nothing on those topics, and therefore could say nothing. He added that you were expected to arrive in two weeks. Upon this statement Lord John Russell acquiesced in the expediency of waiting for the full knowledge you were expected to bring.

Mr. Dallas transmitted to us some newspaper reports of ministerial explanations made in Parliament.

You will base no proceedings on parliamentary debates further than to seek explanations when necessary and communicate them to this department.

The President regrets that Mr. Dallas did not

protest against the proposed unofficial intercourse between the British government and the missionaries of the insurgents. It is due, however, to Mr. Dallas to say that our instructions had been given only to you and not to him and that his loyalty and fidelity, too rare in these times, are appreciated.

Intercourse of any kind with the so-called commissioners is liable to be construed as a recognition of the authority which appointed them. Such intercourse would be none the less hurtful to us for being called unofficial, and it might be even more injurious, because we should have no means of knowing what points might be resolved by it. Moreover, unofficial intercourse is useless and meaningless if it is not expected to ripen into official intercourse and direct recognition. It is left doubtful here whether the proposed unofficial intercourse has yet actually begun. Your own antecedent instructions are deemed explicit enough, and it is hoped that you have not misunderstood them. You will in any event desist from all intercourse whatever, unofficial as well as official, with the British Government, so long as it shall continue intercourse of either kind with the domestic enemies of this country. When intercourse shall have been arrested for this cause, you will communicate with this department and receive further directions.

Lord John Russell has informed us of an understanding between the British and French governments that they will act together in regard to our affairs. This communication, however, loses something of its value from the circumstance that the communication was withheld until after knowledge of the fact had been ac-

quired by us from other sources. We know also another fact that has not yet been officially communicated to us—namely, that other European States are apprised by France and England of their agreement, and are expected to concur with or follow them in whatever measures they adopt on the subject of recognition. The United States have been impartial and just in all their conduct toward the several nations of Europe. They will not complain, however, of the combination now announced by the two leading powers, although they think they had a right to expect a more independent, if not a more friendly, course from each of them. You will take no notice of that or any other alliance. Whenever the European governments shall see fit to communicate directly with us, we shall be, as heretofore, frank and explicit in our reply.

As to the blockade, you will say that by our own laws and the laws of nature and the laws of nations, this Government has a clear right to suppress insurrection. An exclusion of commerce from national ports which have been seized by the insurgents, in the equitable form of blockade, is the proper means to that end. You will not insist that our blockade is to be respected if it be not maintained by a competent force; but passing by that question as not now a practical, or at least an urgent one, you will add that the blockade is now, and will continue to be so maintained, and therefore we expect it to be respected by Great Britain. You will add that we have already revoked the exequatur of a Russian consul who had enlisted in the military service of the insurgents, and we shall dismiss or demand the recall of every foreign

agent, consular or diplomatic, who shall either disobey the Federal laws or disown the Federal authority.

As to the recognition of the so-called Southern Confederacy, it is not to be made a subject of technical definition. It is, of course, direct recognition to publish an acknowledgment of the sovereignty and independence of a new power. It is direct recognition to receive its ambassadors, ministers, agents, or commissioners officially. A concession of belligerent rights is liable to be construed as a recognition of them. No one of these proceedings will pass unquestioned by the United States in this case.

Hitherto recognition has been moved only on the assumption that the so-called Confederate States are *de facto* a self-sustaining power. Now, after long forbearance, designed to soothe discontent and avert the need of civil war, the land and naval forces of the United States have been put in motion to repress the insurrection. The true character of the pretended new State is at once revealed. It is seen to be a power existing in pronunciamento only. It has never won a field. It has obtained no forts that were not virtually betrayed into its hands or seized in breach of trust. It commands not a single port on the coast nor any highway out from its pretended capital by land. Under these circumstances Great Britain is called upon to intervene and give it body and independence by resisting our measures of suppression. British recognition would be British intervention to create within our own territory a hostile State by overthrowing this republic itself.

As to the treatment of privateers in the in-

surgent service, you will say that this is a question exclusively our own. We treat them as pirates. They are our own citizens, or persons employed by our citizens, preying on the commerce of our country. If Great Britain shall choose to recognize them as lawful belligerents, and give them shelter from our pursuit and punishment, the laws of nations afford an adequate and proper remedy.

Happily, however, her Britannic Majesty's Government can avoid all these difficulties. It invited us in 1856 to accede to the declaration of the Congress of Paris, of which body Great Britain was herself a member, abolishing privateering everywhere in all cases and forever. You already have our authority to propose to her our accession to that declaration. If she refuse to receive it, it can only be because she is willing to become the patron of privateering when aimed at our devastation.

These positions are not elaborately defended now, because to vindicate them would imply a possibility of our waiving them.

We are not insensible of the grave importance of this occasion. We see how, upon the result of the debate in which we are engaged, a war may ensue between the United States and one, two, or even more European nations. War in any case is as exceptionable from the habits as it is revolting from the sentiments of the American people. But if it come, it will be fully seen that it results from the action of Great Britain, not our own; that Great Britain will have decided to fraternize with our domestic enemy, either without waiting to hear from you our remonstrances and our warnings, or after hav-

ing heard them. War in defense of national life is not immoral, and war in defense of independence is an inevitable part of the discipline of nations.

The dispute will be between the European and the American branches of the British race. All who belong to that race will especially deprecate it, as they ought. It may well be believed that men of every race and kindred will deplore it. A war not unlike it between the same parties occurred at the close of the last century. Europe atoned by forty years of suffering for the error that Great Britain committed in provoking that contest. If that nation shall now repeat the same great error, the social convulsions which will follow may not be so long, but they will be more general. When they shall have ceased, it will, we think, be seen, whatever may have been the fortunes of other nations, that it is not the United States that will have come out of them with its precious Constitution altered or its honestly obtained dominion in any degree abridged. Great Britain has but to wait a few months and all her present inconveniences will cease with all our own troubles. If she take a different course, she will calculate for herself the ultimate as well as the immediate consequences, and will consider what position she will hold when she shall have forever lost the sympathies and the affections of the only nation on whose sympathies and affections she has a natural claim. In making that calculation she will do well to remember that in the controversy she proposes to open we shall be actuated by neither pride, nor passion, nor cupidity, nor ambition; but we shall stand simply on the principle of self-preservation, and that our

cause will involve the independence of nations and the rights of human nature.

I am, sir, respectfully your obedient servant,

W. H. S.

Charles Francis Adams, Esq., etc.

Thomas H. Hicks and Mayor George W. Brown.

At the outbreak of the war, the border States were jealous of "invasion" by Northern troops. Accordingly, on April 19, 1861, while the Sixth Massachusetts regiment was passing through Baltimore to the defense of Washington, a mob attacked it. This led to the following correspondence.

Washington, April 20, 1861.

Governor Hicks and Mayor Brown.

Gentlemen: Your letter by Messrs. Bond, Dobbin, and Brune is received. I tender you both my sincere thanks for your efforts to keep the peace in the trying situation in which you are placed.

For the future troops must be brought here, but I make no point of bringing them through Baltimore. Without any military knowledge myself, of course I must leave details to General Scott. He hastily said this morning in the presence of these gentlemen, "March them around Baltimore, and not through it." I sincerely hope the general, on fuller reflection, will consider this practical and proper, and that you will not object to it. By this a collision of the people of Baltimore with the troops will be avoided, unless they go out of their way to seek it. I hope you will exert your influence to prevent this.

Now and ever I shall do all in my power for peace consistently with the maintenance of the Government. Your obedient servant,

Abraham Lincoln.

Thomas H. Hicks.

Department of State, April 22, 1861.

His Excellency Thomas H. Hicks,
Governor of Maryland.

Sir: I have the honor to receive your communication of this morning, in which you inform me that you had felt it to be your duty to advise the President of the United States to order elsewhere the troops then off Annapolis, and also that no more may be sent through Maryland; and that you have further suggested that Lord Lyons be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties in our country, to prevent the effusion of blood.

The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of that communication, and to assure you that he has weighed the counsels it contains with the respect which he habitually cherishes for the chief magistrates of the several States, and especially for yourself. He regrets, as deeply as any magistrate or citizen of this country can, that demonstrations against the safety of the United States, with very extensive preparation for the effusion of blood, have made it his duty to call out the forces to which you allude.

The force now sought to be brought through Maryland is intended for nothing but the defense of the capital. The President has necessarily confided the choice of the national highway which that force shall take in coming to this

city to the lieutenant-general commanding the army of the United States, who, like his only predecessor, is not less distinguished for his humanity than for his loyalty, patriotism, and distinguished public services.

The President instructs me to add that the national highway thus selected by the lieutenant-general has been chosen by him, upon consultation with prominent magistrates and citizens of Maryland, as the one which, while a route is absolutely necessary, is farthest removed from the populous cities of the State, and with the expectation that it would therefore be the least objectionable one.

He cannot but remember that there has been a time in the history of our country when a general of the American Union, with forces designed for the defense of its capital, was not unwelcome anywhere in the State of Maryland, and certainly not at Annapolis, then, as now, the capital of that patriotic State, and then also one of the capitals of the Union.

If eighty years could have obliterated all the other noble sentiments of that age in Maryland, the President would be hopeful, nevertheless, that there is one that would forever remain there and everywhere. That sentiment is, that no domestic contention whatever that may arise among the parties of this republic ought in any case to be referred to any foreign arbitrament, least of all to the arbitrament of a European monarchy.

I have the honor to be, with distinguished consideration, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

William H. Seward.

Reverdy Johnson.

[*Confidential.*]

Executive Mansion, April 24, 1861.

Hon. Reverdy Johnson.

My dear Sir: Your note of this morning is just received. I forbore to answer yours of the 22d because of my aversion (which I thought you understood) to getting on paper and furnishing new grounds for misunderstanding. I do say the sole purpose of bringing troops here is to defend this capital. I do say I have no purpose to invade Virginia with them or any other troops, as I understand the word invasion. But, suppose Virginia sends her troops, or admits others through her borders, to assail this capital, am I not to repel them even to the crossing of the Potomac, if I can? Suppose Virginia erects, or permits to be erected, batteries on the opposite shore to bombard the city, are we to stand still and see it done? In a word, if Virginia strikes us, are we not to strike back, and as effectively as we can? Again, are we not to hold Fort Monroe (for instance) if we can? I have no objection to declare a thousand times that I have no purpose to invade Virginia or any other State, but I do not mean to let them invade us without striking back.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, July 26, 1862.

Hon. Reverdy Johnson.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 16th, by the hand of Governor Shepley, is received. It seems the

Union feeling in Louisiana is being crushed out by the course of General Phelps.[1] Please pardon me for believing that is a false pretense. The people of Louisiana—all intelligent people everywhere—know full well that I never had a wish to touch the foundations of their society, or any right of theirs. With perfect knowledge of this they forced a necessity upon me to send armies among them, and it is their own fault, not mine, that they are annoyed by the presence of General Phelps. They also know the remedy—know how to be cured of General Phelps. Remove the necessity of his presence. And might it not be well for them to consider whether they have not already had time enough to do this? If they can conceive of anything worse than General Phelps within my power, would they not better be looking out for it? They very well know the way to avert all this is simply to take their place in the Union upon the old terms. If they will not do this, should they not receive harder blows rather than lighter ones? You are ready to say I apply to friends what is due only to enemies. I distrust the wisdom if not the sincerity of friends who would hold my hands while my enemies stab me. This appeal of professed friends has paralyzed me more in this struggle than any other one thing. You remember telling me, the day after the Baltimore mob in April, 1861, that it would crush all Union feeling in Maryland for me to attempt bringing troops over Maryland soil to Washington. I brought the troops not-

[1] J. W. Phelps, an Abolitionist, placed by General Benjamin F. Butler in command at Carrolton, La. He began to organize slaves as soldiers, and on Butler's countermanding the work, resigned. He was outlawed by the Confederate Government.

withstanding, and yet there was Union feeling enough left to elect a legislature the next autumn, which in turn elected a very excellent Union United States senator! I am a patient man—always willing to forgive on the Christian terms of repentance, and also to give ample time for repentance. Still I must save this Government, if possible. What I cannot do, of course I will not do; but it may as well be understood, once for all, that I shall not surrender this game leaving any available card unplayed.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Gustavus V. Fox.

Washington, D. C., May 1, 1861.

Captain G. V. Fox.

My dear Sir: I sincerely regret that the failure of the late attempt to provision Fort Sumter should be the source of any annoyance to you.

The practicability of your plan was not, in fact, brought to a test. By reason of a gale, well known in advance to be possible and not improbable, the tugs, an essential part of the plan, never reached the ground; while, by an accident for which you were in no wise responsible, and possibly I to some extent was, you were deprived of a war vessel, with her men, which you deemed of great importance to the enterprise.

I most cheerfully and truly declare that the failure of the undertaking has not lowered you a particle, while the qualities you developed in the effort have greatly heightened you in my estimation.

For a daring and dangerous enterprise of a similar character you would to-day be the man

of all my acquaintances whom I would select. You and I both anticipated that the cause of the country would be advanced by making the attempt to provision Fort Sumter, even if it should fail; and it is no small consolation now to feel that our anticipation is justified by the result.

Very truly your friend, A. Lincoln.

——— Johnson.

On May 6, 1861, the President had his secretary, John Hay, write the following note to a State Senator of Kentucky who had protested against the concentration of Federal troops at Cairo, Illinois.

The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th ultimo, protesting against the stationing of United States troops at Cairo.

He directs me to say that the views so ably stated by you shall have due consideration, and to assure you that he would never have ordered the movement of troops complained of had he known that Cairo was in your senatorial district.

Salmon P. Chase.[1]

[1] Secretary Chase was early identified with the anti-slavery movement, being one of the leaders of the Liberty party and of its successor, the Free-Soil party. In 1849 he entered the Senate from Ohio, Lincoln being a Representative at the time. He opposed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. He served as Governor of Ohio from 1856 to 1860. He was a leading candidate for President at the Republican convention in 1860 at Chicago, and Lincoln naturally offered him a place in the Cabinet. As Secretary of the Treasury he conducted the finances of the war with profound ability. Owing to his ambition to succeed Lincoln as President, relations between the two were somewhat strained.

A few typical examples of the way the President handled the testy Secretary of the Treasury in the matter of appointments are here presented.

On May 6, 1861, the President sent Secretary Chase a note by a bearer, who was an applicant for a position in the Treasury Department, saying "A point must be strained to give Mr. Evans a situation."

On May 8, 1861, the President wrote Secretary Chase the following note about an office in his department:

Ought Mr. Young to be removed, and if yea, ought Mr. [Christopher] Adams to be appointed? Mr. Adams is magnificently recommended; but the great point in his favor is that Thurlow Weed and Horace Greeley join in recommending him. I suppose the like never happened before, and never will again; so that it is now or never. What say you? Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, May 10, 1861.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: I have felt myself obliged to refuse the post-office at this place to my old friend, Nathan Sargent, which wounds him, and consequently me, very deeply. He now says there is an office in your department, called the "Commissioner of Customs," which the incumbent, . . . wishes to vacate. I will be much obliged if you agree for me to appoint Mr. Sargent to this place. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Writing on May 18, 1861, to Secretary Chase of a certain lawyer, against whose appointment to office the objection of dishonesty had been raised, Mr. Lincoln said:

At length, when I was, as it were, in the very act of appointing him, Mr. —— made a general

charge of dishonesty against him. I pressed him for particulars, and it turned out that Mr. D—— in his business as a lawyer had got some printing done for his clients, becoming personally responsible for the work, and had not paid for it when dunned. While this, if true, is certainly not to be commended, I believe the like might, in some cases, be proven upon me. They are a class of debts which our clients ought to pay, and when we are personally dunned for them we sometimes hang fire. Besides, Mr. D—— went far toward a satisfactory explanation of one case; and while Mr. —— intimated that there were other cases, he did not specify them.

I consider that the charge of dishonesty has failed; and it now seems to me more difficult to change my purpose than if the charge had never been made. Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, May 8, 1863.

Hon. Salmon P. Chase.

My dear Sir: I address this to you personally rather than officially, because of the nature of the case. My mind is made up to remove Victor Smith as collector of the customs at the Puget Sound district. Yet in doing this I do not decide that the charges against him are true. I only decide that the degree of dissatisfaction with him there is too great for him to be retained. But I believe he is your personal acquaintance and friend, and if you desire it I will try to find some other place for him.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

On May 13, 1863, the President wrote to Secretary Chase of various appointments, and incidentally mentioned a call on him by General James A. Garfield.

I am sorry to know the general's pet expedition, under Colonel Streight, has already been captured. Whether it had paid for itself, as he hoped, I do not know. A. Lincoln.

On June 25, 1863, the President wrote Secretary Chase in regard to an applicant: "Please strain a point for him, if you do not have to strain it too far."

On October 26, 1863, the President wrote to Secretary Chase in regard to an applicant:

The writer of the accompanying letter is one of Mrs. Lincoln's numerous cousins. He is a grandson of "Milliken's Bend," near Vicksburg —that is, a grandson of the man who gave name to Milliken's Bend. His father was a brother to Mrs. Lincoln's mother. I know not a thing about his loyalty beyond what he says. Supposing he is loyal, can any of his requests be granted, and if any, which of them?

On February 12, 1864, the President wrote Secretary Chase about Custom House affairs in New York, where Mr. Hiram Barney, the collector, had been practically superseded by a Mr. Joshua F. Bailey, a special Treasury agent. Mr. Bailey had attempted to smother congressional investigation of the matter. The President said:

The public interest cannot fail to suffer in the hands of this unresponsible and unscrupulous man. I propose sending Mr. Barney minister to Portugal, as evidence of my continued confidence in him; and I further propose appointing —— collector of the customs at New York.

Treasury Department, February 15, 1864.
Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: I have just called here to see you on the matter mentioned Saturday, and am pained to learn you are suffering too much to be out. I hope you will soon be relieved; meanwhile have no uneasiness as to the thing to which I am alluding, as I shall do nothing in it until I shall [*have*] fully conferred with you.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, February 20, 1864.
Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: Herewith I return the affidavit you handed me. In glancing over it once, I do not perceive anything necessarily inconsistent with the practice of detectives and others engaged in the business of "rascal catching"; but a closer examination might show it. . . .

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, February 23, 1864.
Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: Yours of yesterday in relation to the paper issued by Senator Pomeroy was duly received; and I write this note merely to say I will answer a little more fully when I can find time to do so. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, February 29, 1864.
Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: I would have taken time to answer yours of the 2d sooner, only that I did not suppose any evil could result from the delay, especially as, by a note, I promptly acknowledged the receipt of yours, and promised a fuller an-

swer. Now, on consideration, I find there is really very little to say. My knowledge of Mr. Pomeroy's letter having been made public came to me only the day you wrote, but I had, in spite of myself, known of its existence several days before. I have not yet read it, and I think I shall not. I was not shocked or surprised by the appearance of the letter, because I had had knowledge of Mr. Pomeroy's committee, and of secret issues which I supposed came from it, and of secret agents who I supposed were sent out by it, for several weeks. I have known just as little of these things as my friends have allowed me to know. They bring the documents to me, but I do not read them; they tell me what they think fit to tell me, but I do not inquire for more. I fully concur with you that neither of us can be justly held responsible for what our respective friends may do without our instigation or countenance; and I assure you, as you have assured me, that no assault has been made upon you by my instigation or with my countenance. Whether you shall remain at the head of the Treasury Department is a question which I will not allow myself to consider from any standpoint other than my judgment of the public service, and, in that view, I do not perceive occasion for a change. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 4, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: In consequence of a call Mr. Villard makes on me, having a note from you to him, I am induced to say I have no wish for the publication of the correspondence between yourself and me in relation to the Pomeroy cir-

cular—in fact rather prefer to avoid an unnecessary exhibition—yet you are at liberty, without in the least offending me, to allow the publication if you choose.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

On May 18, 1864, the President, after receiving a visit from two financiers, wrote Secretary Chase as follows:

Suppose you change your five per cent. loan to six, allowing the holders of the fives already out to convert them into sixes, upon taking each an equal additional amount at six. You will understand better than I all the reasons *pro* and *con*, among which probably will be the rise of the rate of interest in Europe.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, June 28, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

My dear Sir: When I received your note this forenoon suggesting a verbal conversation in relation to the appointment of a successor to Mr. Cisco, I hesitated, because the difficulty does not, in the main part, lie within the range of a conversation between you and me. As the proverb goes, no man knows so well where the shoe pinches as he who wears it. I do not think Mr. Field a very proper man for the place, but I would trust your judgment and forego this were the greater difficulty out of the way. Much as I personally like Mr. Barney, it has been a great burden to me to retain him in his place when nearly all our friends in New York were directly or indirectly urging his removal. Then the ap-

pointment of Judge Hogeboom to be general appraiser brought me to, and has ever since kept me at, the verge of open revolt. Now the appointment of Mr. Field would precipitate me in it unless Senator Morgan and those feeling as he does, could be brought to concur in it. Strained as I already am at this point, I do not think I can make this appointment in the direction of still greater strain.

The testimonials of Mr. Field, with your accompanying notes, were duly received, and I am now waiting to see your answer from Mr. Cisco.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, June 30, 1864.

Hon. Salmon P. Chase.

My dear Sir: Your resignation of the office of Secretary of the Treasury sent me yesterday is accepted. Of all I have said in commendation of your ability and fidelity I have nothing to unsay; and yet you and I have reached a point of mutual embarrassment in our official relations which it seems cannot be overcome or longer sustained consistently with the public service.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., December 6, 1864.

To the Senate of the United States: I nominate Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, *vice* Roger B. Taney deceased.

Abraham Lincoln.

GIDEON WELLES.[1]

[*Order.*]

Executive Mansion, May 11, 1861.

To the Secretary of the Navy.

Sir: Lieutenant D. D. Porter was placed in command of the steamer *Powhatan*, and Captain Samuel Mercer was detached therefrom, by my special order, and neither of them is responsible for any apparent or real irregularity on their part or in connection with that vessel.

Hereafter Captain Porter is relieved from that special service and placed under the direction of the Navy Department, from which he will receive instructions and to which he will report.

Very respectfully, Abraham Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, January 4, 1863.

Hon. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy.

Dear Sir: As many persons who come well recommended for loyalty and service to the Union cause, and who are refugees from rebel oppression in the State of Virginia, make application to me for authority and permission to remove their families and property to protection within the Union lines, by means of our armed gunboats on the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay, you are hereby requested to hear and consider all such applications, and to grant such assistance to this class of persons as in your judgment their merits may render proper, and as

[1] Secretary Welles was a leading Democratic editor of Connecticut, who joined the Republican party because of his anti-slavery sentiments. As Secretary of the Navy he was a most laborious and efficient minister, although it was the fashion to caricature and decry him.

may in each case be consistent with the perfect and complete efficiency of the naval service and with military expediency. Abraham Lincoln.

On January 25, 1863, the President gave Secretary Welles an order regarding contraband trade, in which he said:

First. You will avoid the reality, and as far as possible the appearance, of using any neutral port to watch neutral vessels and then to dart out and seize them on their departure.

Note. Complaint is made that this has been practised at the port of St. Thomas, which practice, if it exists, is disapproved and must cease.

Second. You will not in any case detain the crew of a captured neutral vessel or any other subject of a neutral power, on board such vessel, as prisoners of war or otherwise, except the small number necessary as witnesses in the prize court.

Note. The practice here forbidden is also charged to exist, which, if true, is disapproved and must cease.

My dear sir, it is not intended to be insinuated that you have been remiss in the performance of the arduous and responsible duties of your department which, I take pleasure in affirming, has in your hands been conducted with admirable success. Yet, while your subordinates are almost of necessity brought into angry collision with the subjects of foreign states, the representatives of those states and yourself do not come into immediate contact for the purpose of keeping the peace, in spite of such collisions. At that point there is an ultimate and heavy responsibility upon me.

What I propose is in strict accordance with

international law, and is therefore unobjectionable; whilst, if it does no other good, it will contribute to sustain a considerable portion of the present British ministry in their places, who, if displaced, are sure to be replaced by others more unfavorable to us.

Your obedient servant, Abraham Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, December 20, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of the Navy.

My dear Sir: General Gillmore, believing that a joint movement of the army and navy is not likely to be made against Charleston very soon, has written asking leave to operate independently of the navy for a time. As this application comes to me, I will thank you to inform me how long, according to any plan or reasonable calculation of the navy, it will be before it will need the actual coöperation of the army before Charleston.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Francis P. Blair, Jr.

Washington, D. C., May 18, 1861.

Hon. F. P. Blair.

My dear Sir: We have a good deal of anxiety here about St. Louis. I understand an order has gone from the War Department to you, to be delivered or withheld in your discretion, relieving General Harney from his command. I was not quite satisfied with the order when it was made, though on the whole I thought it best to make it; but since then I have become more doubtful of its propriety. I do not write now to countermand it, but to say I wish you would withhold it, unless in your judgment the neces-

sity to the contrary is very urgent. There are several reasons for this. We had better have him a friend than an enemy. It will dissatisfy a good many who otherwise would be quiet. More than all, we first relieve him, then restore him, and now if we relieve him again the public will ask, "Why all this vacillation?" Still, if in your judgment it is indispensable, let it be so.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, November 17, 1862.

Hon. F. P. Blair.

Your brother says you are solicitous to be ordered to join General McClernand. I suppose you are ordered to Helena; this means that you are to form part of McClernand's expedition as it moves down the river; and General McClernand is so informed. I will see General Halleck as to whether the additional force you mention can go with you. A. Lincoln.

See letter to Montgomery Blair of November 2, 1863.

On April 28, 1864, the President stated to Congress that General Francis P. Blair, with his consent and the Senate's, though a congressman elect, held a commission in the army, and, being in service, was not present at the assembling of Congress, but took his seat later on the understanding with Secretary of War Stanton that he might at his own pleasure, return to the field. Recently he had been selected by Generals Grant and Sherman for a corps commander, and he now desired to reënter the army. Congress granted Blair the desired commission.

EDWIN D. MORGAN.

Washington, May 22, 1861.

Governor E. D. Morgan, Albany, N. Y.

I wish to see you face to face to clear these difficulties about forwarding troops from New York. A. Lincoln.

On July 2, 1862, the President telegraphed Governor Morgan in relation to the call for troops issued at the request of the State Governors:

It was thought safest to mark high enough. It is 300,000. A. Lincoln.

MR. AND MRS. ELLSWORTH.

Washington, D. C., May 25, 1861.

To the Father and Mother of Colonel E. Elmer Ellsworth.

My dear Sir and Madam: In the untimely loss of your noble son, our affliction here is scarcely less than your own. So much of promised usefulness to one's country, and of bright hopes for one's self and friends, have rarely been so suddenly dashed as in his fall. In size, in years, and in youthful appearance a boy only, his power to command men was surpassingly great. This power, combined with a fine intellect, an indomitable energy, and a taste altogether military, constituted in him, as seemed to me, the best natural talent in that department I ever knew.

And yet he was singularly modest and deferential in social intercourse. My acquaintance with him began less than two years ago; yet through the latter half of the intervening period it was as intimate as the disparity of our ages

and my engrossing engagements would permit. To me he appeared to have no indulgences or pastimes; and I never heard him utter a profane or an intemperate word. What was conclusive of his good heart, he never forgot his parents. The honors he labored for so laudably, and for which in the sad end he so gallantly gave his life, he meant for them no less than for himself.

In the hope that it may be no intrusion upon the sacredness of your sorrow, I have ventured to address you this tribute to the memory of my young friend and your brave and early fallen child.

May God give you that consolation which is beyond all earthly power.

Sincerely your friend in a common affliction,

A. Lincoln.

[Compare this letter of condolence with that to Miss Fanny McCullough, and that to Mrs. Bixby.]

W. S. Harney.

Washington, D. C., May 27, 1861.

Brigadier-General W. S. Harney,
Commanding Department of the West,
St. Louis, Mo.

Sir: The President observes with concern that, notwithstanding the pledge of the State authorities to coöperate in preserving peace in Missouri, loyal citizens in great numbers continue to be driven from their homes. It is immaterial whether these outrages continue from inability or indisposition on the part of the State authorities to prevent them. It is enough that they continue to devolve on you the duty of putting a stop to them summarily by the force under your com-

mand, to be aided by such troops as you may require from Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois. The professions of loyalty to the Union by the State authorities of Missouri are not to be relied upon. They have already falsified their professions too often, and are too far committed to secession to be entitled to your confidence, and you can only be sure of their desisting from their wicked purposes when it is out of their power to prosecute them. You will therefore be unceasingly watchful of their movements, and not permit the clamors of their partisans and opponents of the wise measures already taken to prevent you from checking every movement against the Government, however disguised under the pretended State authority. The authority of the United States is paramount, and whenever it is apparent that a movement, whether by color of State authority or not, is hostile, you will not hesitate to put it down. I am, sir,

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

L. Thomas, Adjutant-General.

Benjamin F. Butler.

On May 27, 1861, General Butler wrote to Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, that he was greatly embarrassed by fugitive slaves flocking into his camp, and so had determined to regard them as "contraband of war," employing their labor at fair wages from which he would deduct the expense of their support. In this course he was upheld by the Government.

On the 8th of August, after the passage of the Confiscation Act by Congress, the Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, wrote to General Butler, setting forth somewhat more fully the views of the President and the Administration upon this subject, as follows:

It is the desire of the President that all existing rights in *all the States be fully respected and maintained.* The war now prosecuted on the part of the Federal Government is a war for the Union and for the preservation of all constitutional rights of States and the citizens of the Union. Hence no question can arise as to fugitives from service within the States and Territories in which the authority of the Union is fully acknowledged. The ordinary forms of judicial proceedings which must be respected by military and civil authorities alike, will suffice for the enforcement of all legal claims. But in States wholly or partially under insurrectionary control, where the laws of the United States are so far opposed and resisted, that they cannot be effectually enforced, it is obvious the rights dependent on the execution of those laws must temporarily fail; and it is equally obvious that rights dependent on the laws of the States within which military operations are conducted must be necessarily subordinated to the military exigencies created by the insurrection, if not wholly forfeited by the treasonable conduct of parties claiming them. To this general rule rights to services can form no exception.

The act of Congress, approved August 6th, 1861, declares that if persons held to service shall be employed in hostility to the United States, the right to their services shall be forfeited, and such persons shall be discharged therefrom. It follows of necessity that no claim can be recognized by the military authorities of the Union to the services of such persons when fugitives.

A more difficult question is presented in re-

spect to persons escaping from the service of loyal masters. It is quite apparent that the laws of the State, under which only the services of such fugitives can be claimed, must needs be wholly, or almost wholly, suspended as to remedies, by the insurrection and military measures necessitated by it, and it is equally apparent that the substitution of military for judicial measures, for the enforcement of such claims, must be attended by great inconveniences, embarrassments, and injuries.

Under these circumstances it is quite clear that the substantial rights of loyal masters will be best protected by receiving such fugitives, as well as fugitives from disloyal masters, into the service of the United States, and employing them under such organizations and in such occupations as circumstances may suggest or require. Of course a record should be kept, showing the name and description of fugitives, the name and the character, as loyal or disloyal, of the master, and such facts as may be necessary to a correct understanding of the circumstances of each case after tranquillity shall have been restored. Upon the return of peace, Congress will doubtless properly provide for all the persons thus received into the service of the Union, and for just compensation to loyal masters. In this way only, it would seem, can the duty and safety of the Government, and the just rights of all, be fully reconciled and harmonized.

You will therefore consider yourself as instructed to govern your future action, in respect to fugitives from service, by the principles herein stated, and will report from time to time, and at least twice in each month, your action in the

premises of this department. You will, however, neither authorize nor permit any interference by the troops under your command, with the servants of peaceful citizens, in house or field, nor will you, in any way, encourage such servants to leave the lawful service of their master; nor will you, except in cases where the public safety may seem to require it, prevent the voluntary return of any fugitive to the service from which he may have escaped.

On September 11, 1861, the President wrote to each Governor of the New England States that General Butler proposed to raise in New England six regiments for special service, and that the President would be glad if the Governor would answer by telegraph if he consented. The regiments were raised, and were employed in the successful expedition against the forts commanding Hatteras Inlet.

In April, 1862, General Butler coöperated with naval commander David G. Farragut in the capture of New Orleans, and was made military commandant of that city.

On October 14, 1862, the President wrote General Butler, Governor Shepley, and all others having United States authority in Louisiana, to further the plans of John E. Bouligny for holding elections in the State under Federal Government:

In all available ways give the people a chance to express their wishes at these elections. Follow forms of law as far as convenient, but at all events get the expression of the largest number of the people possible. All see how such action will connect with and affect the proclamation of September 22 [*Emancipation Proclamation*]. Of course the men elected should be gentlemen of

character, willing to swear support to the Constitution, as of old, and known to be above reasonable suspicion of duplicity.

Yours very respectfully. A. Lincoln.

[*Message to Congress, with a Present of Three Swords.*]

December 12, 1862.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: I have in my possession three valuable swords, formerly the property of General David E. Twiggs, which I now place at the disposal of Congress. They are forwarded to me from New Orleans by Major-General Benjamin F. Butler. If they, or any of them, shall be by Congress disposed of in reward or compliment of military service, I think General Butler is entitled to the first consideration. A copy of the general's letter to me, accompanying the swords, is herewith transmitted.

Abraham Lincoln.

Congress acted upon the suggestion of the President and awarded the swords to General Butler.

Executive Mansion, December 29, 1862.

Major-General B. F. Butler.

My dear Sir: I believe you have a family, and I dislike to deprive you of an early visit to them; but I really wish to see you at the earliest moment. I am contemplating a peculiar and important service for you, which I think, and I hope you will think, is as honorable as it is important. I wish to confer with you upon it. Please come immediately upon your arrival at New York. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram in Cipher.*]

Washington, D. C., May 18, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Bermuda Hundred, Virginia.

Until receiving your despatch of yesterday, the idea of commissions in the volunteers expiring at the end of three years had not occurred to me. I think no trouble will come of it; and, at all events, I shall take care of it so far as in me lies. As to the major-generalships in the regular army, I think I shall not dispose of another, at least until the combined operations now in progress, under direction of General Grant, and within which yourself and command are included, shall be terminated.

Meanwhile, on behalf of yourself, officers, and men, please accept my hearty thanks for what you and they have so far done.

A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., September 13, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Bermuda Hundred, Virginia.

The Ames guns I am under promise to pay, or rather to advise paying, a very high price for, provided they bear the test, and they are not yet tested, though I believe in process of being tested. I could not be justified to pay the extraordinary price without the testing. I shall be happy to let you have some of them as soon as I can. How comes on your canal? [1]

A. Lincoln.

[1] A work in the investment of Richmond.

On November 5, 1864, Secretary of War Stanton wrote the President for his judgment on a question of conflict between General Butler and Governor Pierpont of Virginia. Lincoln indorsed upon the note:

I think this might lie over till morning. The tendency of the order, it seems to me, is to bring on a collision with the State authority, which I would rather avoid, at least until the necessity for it is more apparent than it yet is.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, December 21, 1864.

Major-General Butler.

On the 9th of August last, I began to write you a letter, the inclosed being a copy of so much as I then wrote. So far as it goes it embraces the views I then entertained and still entertain.

A little relaxation of complaints made to me on the subject, occurring about that time, the letter was not finished and sent. I now learn, correctly I suppose, that you have ordered an election, similar to the one mentioned, to take place on the eastern shore of Virginia. Let this be suspended at least until conference with me and obtaining my approval.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Inclosure.*]

Executive Mansion, August 9, 1864.

Major-General Butler.

Your paper of the —— about Norfolk matters, is received, as also was your other, on the same general subject, dated, I believe, some time in February last. This subject has caused con-

siderable trouble, forcing me to give a good deal of time and reflection to it. I regret that crimination and recrimination are mingled in it. I surely need not to assure you that I have no doubt of your loyalty and devoted patriotism; and I must tell you that I have no less confidence in those of Governor Pierpont and the Attorney-General. The former—at first as the loyal governor of all Virginia, including that which is now West Virginia, in organizing and furnishing troops, and in all other proper matters—was as earnest, honest, and efficient to the extent of his means as any other loyal governor.

The inauguration of West Virginia as a new State left to him, as he assumed, the remainder of the old State; and the insignificance of the parts which are outside of the rebel lines, and consequently within his reach, certainly gives a somewhat farcical air to his dominion, and I suppose he, as well as I, has considered that it could be useful for little else than as a nucleus to add to. The Attorney-General only needs to be known to be relieved from all questions as to loyalty and thorough devotion to the national cause, constantly restraining as he does my tendency to clemency for rebels and rebel sympathizers. But he is the law-officer of the Government, and a believer in the virtue of adhering to law.

Coming to the question itself, the military occupancy of Norfolk is a necessity with us. If you, as department commander, find the cleansing of the city necessary to prevent pestilence in your army; street-lights and a fire-department necessary to prevent assassinations and incendiarism among your men and stores; wharfage

necessary to land and ship men and supplies; a large pauperism, badly conducted at a needlessly large expense to the Government; and find also that these things, or any of them, are not reasonably well attended to by the civil Government, you rightfully may and must take them into your own hands. But you should do so on your own avowed judgment of a military necessity, and not seem to admit that there is no such necessity by taking a vote of the people on the question.

Nothing justifies the suspending of the civil by the military authority, but military necessity; and of the existence of that necessity, the military commander, and not a popular vote, is to decide. And whatever is not within such necessity should be left undisturbed.

In your paper of February you fairly notified me that you contemplated taking a popular vote, and, if fault there be, it was my fault that I did not object then, which I probably should have done had I studied the subject as closely as I have since done. I now think you would better place whatever you feel is necessary to be done on this distinct ground of military necessity, openly discarding all reliance for what you do on any election. I also think you should keep accounts as to show every item of money received and how expended.

The course here indicated does not touch the case when the military commander, finding no friendly civil government existing, may, under the sanction or direction of the President, give assistance to the people to inaugurate one.

War Department, July 3, 1862.

Major-General B. F. Butler, New Orleans.

I wrote you last under date of the 29th ultimo, and have now to say that your despatch of the 18th ultimo, with the accompanying report of General Phelps concerning certain fugitive negroes that have come to his pickets, has been considered by the President.

He is of opinion that under the law of Congress they cannot be sent back to their masters; that in common humanity they must not be permitted to suffer for want of food, shelter, or other necessaries of life; that to this end they should be provided for by the quartermaster's and commissary's departments; and that those who are capable of labor should be set to work and paid reasonable wages.

In directing this to be done, the President does not mean, at present, to settle any general rule in respect to slaves or slavery, but simply to provide for the particular case under the circumstances in which it is now presented.

I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., December 28, 1864.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Virginia.

I think you will find that the provost-marshal on the eastern shore has, as by your authority, issued an order, not for a meeting, but for an election. The order, printed in due form, was shown to me, but as I did not retain it, I cannot give you a copy. If the people, on their own

motion, wish to hold a peaceful meeting, I suppose you need not to hinder them.

A. Lincoln.

On December 29, 1864, the President wrote General Butler concerning a Connecticut volunteer, under the assumed name of William Stanley, who was under arrest for desertion. His "real name is Frank R. Judd. . . . He is the son of our present minister to Prussia, who is a close personal friend of Senator Trumbull and myself. We are not willing for the boy to be shot, but we think it as well that his trial go regularly on, suspending execution until further order from me, and reporting to me."

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, January 10, 1865.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Virginia.

No principal report of yours on the Wilmington expedition has ever reached the War Department, as I am informed there. A preliminary report did reach here, but was returned to General Grant at his request. Of course, leave to publish cannot be given without inspection of the paper, and not then if it should be deemed to be detrimental to the public service.

A. Lincoln.

Robert C. Schenck.

On June 17, 1861, James B. Fry, Assistant Adjutant-General, ordered General Schenck, commanding an Ohio brigade, to send a regiment to guard railroad bridges and inspect railroad tracks in Virginia. On this order the President made the following memorandum:

As appears by the order, General Schenck was not ordered to go himself, but merely to send a regiment; and he went himself because the colonels of both his regiments happened to be absent;

but he took Colonel McCook's regiment, and Colonel McCook[1] overtook and joined him before the disaster occurred; and to whom (he being a regularly educated military man) the order was at once shown, and General Schenck did nothing afterward but upon his full concurrence. It is not true, as has been stated, that any notice was given General Schenck of a battery being at Vienna. It is true that a countryman told General Schenck he had heard there were troops at Vienna. He was asked if he had seen them, and he said not; he was asked if he had seen any one who had seen them, and he said not; but he had seen a man who had heard there were troops there. This was heard by Colonel McCook as well as General Schenck; and on consultation they agreed that it was but a vague rumor.

It is a fact that not an officer or private who was present at the disaster has ever cast a word of blame upon either General Schenck or Colonel McCook; but, on the contrary, they are all anxious to have another trial under the same officers.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, June 14, 1863.

Major-General Schenck.

Get General Milroy from Winchester to Harper's Ferry, if possible. He will be "gobbled up" if he remains, if he is not already past salvation. A. Lincoln, President United States.

[1] Alexander McDowell McCook.

[*Telegram in Cipher.*]

War Department, July 12, 1863.

Major-General Schenck, Baltimore, Md.

You seem to misunderstand the nature of the objection to General Trimble's going to Baltimore. His going there is opposed to prevent his meeting his traitorous associates there.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C.,
July 14, 1863. 1.40 p. m.

Major-General Schenck, Baltimore, Maryland.

Mr. Jaquess [1] is a very worthy gentleman, but I can have nothing to do, directly or indirectly, with the matter he has in view. A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, July 23, 1863.

Major-General Schenck.

My dear Sir: Returning to the Executive Room yesterday, I was mortified to find you were gone, leaving no word of explanation. I went downstairs, as I understood, on a perfect understanding with you that you would remain till my return. I got this impression distinctly from "Edward," whom I believe you know. Possibly I misunderstood him. I had been very unwell in the morning, and had scarcely tasted food during the day, till the time you saw me go down.

[1] James F. Jaquess was a self-constituted peace commissioner to the Confederacy. This mission and a subsequent one were abortive.

I beg you will not believe I have treated you with intentional discourtesy.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
October 21, 1863. 2.45 p. m.

Major-General Schenck, Baltimore, Maryland.

A delegation is here saying that our armed colored troops are at many, if not all, the landings on the Patuxent River, and by their presence with arms in their hands are frightening quiet people and producing great confusion. Have they been sent there by any order, and if so, for what reason? A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
October 22, 1863. 1.30 p. m.

Major-General Schenck, Baltimore, Maryland.

Please come over here. The fact of one of our officers being killed on the Patuxent is a specimen of what I would avoid. It seems to me we could send white men to recruit better than to send negroes and thus inaugurate homicides on *punctilio*. Please come over.

A. Lincoln.

J. K. F. Mansfield.[1]

Executive Mansion, June 19, 1861.

General Mansfield.

My dear Sir: The inclosed papers of Colonel Joseph Hooker speak for themselves. He desires

[1] Commander of the Department of Washington. He was killed at Antietam.

to have the command of a regiment. Ought he to have it, and can it be done, and how?

Please consult General Scott, and say if he and you would like Colonel Hooker to have a command. Yours very truly. A. Lincoln.

Simon B. Buckner.

[*Memorandum.*]

It is my duty, as I conceive, to suppress an insurrection existing within the United States. I wish to do this with the least possible disturbance or annoyance to well-disposed people anywhere. So far I have not sent an armed force into Kentucky, nor have I any present purpose to do so. I sincerely desire that no necessity for it may be presented; but I mean to say nothing which shall hereafter embarrass me in the performance of what may seem to be my duty.

(Copy of this delivered to General Buckner, this 10th day of July, 1861.)

See letter to Simon Cameron, August 17, 1861.

J. H. Lane.

See letter to Simon Cameron, of August 1, 1861.

Executive Mansion, July 17, 1863.

Hon. J. H. Lane.

My dear Sir: Governor Carney has not asked to [*have*] General Blunt removed, or interfered with, in his military operations. He has asked that he, the governor, be allowed to commission officers for troops raised in Kansas, as other governors of loyal States do; and I think he is right in this.

He has asked that General Blunt shall not take persons charged with civil crimes out of the hands of the courts and turn them over to mobs to be hung; and I think he is right in this also. He has asked that General Ewing's department be extended to include all Kansas; and I have not determined whether this is right or not.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

See letter to J. G. Blunt of August 19, 1863, and to Thomas Carney of May 14, 1864.

Hamilton R. Gamble.

War Department, August 3, 1861.

His Excellency H. R. Gamble, Governor of Missouri, Jefferson City.

In reply to your message directed to the President, I am directed to say that if by proclamation you promise security to citizens in arms who voluntarily return to their allegiance and become peaceable and loyal, this Government will cause the promise to be respected.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Simon Cameron, Secretary of War.

On November 6, 1861, President Lincoln approved of a proposition of Governor Gamble to raise State militia to coöperate with Federal troops to suppress the rebellion within the State, the expenses of the new force to be paid by the Federal Government. The President, however, stipulates that, when the governor "commissions a major-general of militia, it shall be the same person at the time in command of the United States Department of the West."

See letter to Edward Bates of November 29, 1862.

Executive Mansion, December 18, 1862.

Governor Gamble, Saint Louis, Mo.

It is represented to me that the enrolled militia alone would now maintain law and order in all the counties of your State north of the Missouri River. If so all other forces there might be removed south of the river, or out of the State. Please post yourself and give me your opinion upon the subject. A. Lincoln.

See letter to S. R. Curtis of December 19, 1862.

War Department, December 27, 1862.

His Excellency, Governor Gamble.

I do not wish to leave the country north of the Missouri to the care of the enrolled militia except upon the concurrent judgment of yourself and General Curtis. His I have not yet obtained. Confer with him, and I shall be glad to act when you and he agree. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, December 30, 1862.

His Excellency Governor Gamble.

My dear Sir: Inclosed is an order substantially, and I believe exactly, such as I directed to be made nearly a month ago. After a good deal of reflection, I concluded that it was better to make a rule for the practical matter in hand (the removal of officers and acceptance of resignations) than to decide a general question—to wit: whether the forces are State troops—which, while it might embrace the practical question mentioned, might also be the nest in which forty other troublesome questions would be hatched. I would rather meet them as they come than

before they come, trusting that some of them may not come at all.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

See letter to S. R. Curtis of January 5, 1863.

Executive Mansion, July 23, 1863.

His Excellency Governor Gamble.

Sir: My private secretary has just brought me a letter, saying it is a very "cross" one from you, about mine to General Schofield, recently published in the *Democrat*. As I am trying to preserve my own temper by avoiding irritants so far as practicable, I decline to read the cross letter. I think fit to say, however, that when I wrote the letter to General Schofield, I was totally unconscious of any malice or disrespect toward you, or of using any expression which should offend you if seen by you. I have not seen the document in the *Democrat*, and therefore cannot say whether it is a correct copy.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, October 19, 1863.

His Excellency Hamilton R. Gamble, Governor of Missouri.

Yours of the 1st instant was duly received; and I have delayed so long to answer it because of other pressing duties; because it did not appear to me that the domestic violence you apprehend was very imminent; and because, if it were so imminent, my direction to General Schofield embraces very nearly the extent of my power to repress it. Being instructed to repress all violence, of course he will, so far as in his power, repress any which may be offered to the State government. At the beginning of our present

troubles, the regularly installed State officers of Missouri, taking sides with the rebellion, were forced to give way to the provisional State government, at the head of which you stand, and which was placed in authority, as I understood, by the unanimous action and acquiescence of the Union people of the State. I have seen no occasion to make a distinction against the provisional government because of its not having been chosen and inaugurated in the usual way. Nor have I seen any cause to suspect it of unfaithfulness to the Union. So far as I have yet considered, I am as ready, on a proper case made, to give the State the constitutional protection against invasion and domestic violence, under the provisional government, as I would be if it were under a government installed in the ordinary manner. I have not thought of making a distinction.

In your proclamation of the 12th instant you state the proposition substantially, that no objection can be made to any change in the State government which the people may desire to make so far as the end can be effected by means conforming to the constitution and laws through the expression of the popular will, but that such change should not be effected by violence. I concur in this, and I may add that it makes precisely the distinction I wish to keep in view. In the absence of such violence, or imminent danger thereof, it is not proper for the national executive to interfere, and I am unwilling by any formal action to show an appearance of belief that there is such imminent danger before I really believe there is. I might thereby to some extent bear false witness. You tell me "a party

has sprung up in Missouri which openly and loudly proclaims the purpose to overturn the provisional government by violence." Does the party so proclaim, or is it only that some members of the party so proclaim? If I mistake not, the party alluded to recently held a State convention and adopted resolutions. Did they therein declare violence against the provisional State government? No party can be justly held responsible for what individual members of it may say or do. Nothing in this letter is written with reference to any State which may have maintained within it no State government professedly loyal to the United States.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

James Pollock.

Washington, August 15, 1861.

Hon. James Pollock.

My dear Sir: You must make a job for the bearer of this—make a job of it with the collector and have it done. You *can* do it for me and you *must*.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Oliver P. Morton.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., August 15, 1861.

Governor Morton, Indiana.

Start your four regiments to St. Louis at the earliest moment possible. Get such harness as may be necessary for your rifled guns. Do not delay a single regiment, but hasten everything forward as soon as any one regiment is ready.

Have your three additional regiments organized at once. We shall endeavor to send you the arms this week. A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., September 29, 1861.

His Excellency, Governor O. P. Morton.

Your letter by the hand of Mr. Prunk was received yesterday. I write this letter because I wish you to believe of us (as we certainly believe of you) that we are doing the very best we can. You do not receive arms from us as fast as you need them; but it is because we have not near enough to meet all the pressing demands, and we are obliged to share around what we have, sending the larger share to the points which appear to need them most. We have great hope that our own supply will be ample before long, so that you and all others can have as many as you need. I see an article in an Indianapolis newspaper denouncing me for not answering your letter sent by special messenger two or three weeks ago. I did make what I thought the best answer to that letter. As I remember, it asked for ten heavy guns to be distributed, with some troops, at Lawrenceburg, Madison, New Albany, and Evansville; and I ordered the guns and directed you to send the troops, if you had them. As to Kentucky, you do not estimate that State as more important than I do, but I am compelled to watch all points. While I write this I am, if not in range, at least in hearing of cannon-shot from an army of enemies more than 100,000 strong. I do not expect them to capture this city; but I know they would if I were to send the men and arms from here to defend Louisville, of which there is not a single hos-

tile armed soldier within forty miles, nor any force known to be moving upon it from any distance. It is true, the army in our front may make a half-circle around southward and move on Louisville, but when they do we will make a half-circle around northward and meet them; and in the meantime we will get up what forces we can from other sources to also meet them.

I hope Zollicoffer has left Cumberland Gap (though I fear he has not), because, if he has, I rather infer he did it because of his dread of Camp Dick Robinson, reinforced from Cincinnati, moving on him, than because of his intention to move on Louisville. But if he does go round and reinforce Buckner, let Dick Robinson come round and reinforce Sherman, and the thing is substantially as it was when Zollicoffer left Cumberland Gap. I state this as an illustration; for, in fact, I think if the Gap is left open to us Dick Robinson should take it and hold it; while Indiana and the vicinity of Louisville in Kentucky can reinforce Sherman faster than Zollicoffer can Buckner. . . .

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

War Department, June 28, 1862.

Governor O. P. Morton, Indianapolis, Ind.

Your despatch of to-day is just received. . . . No appointment has been or will be made by me for the purpose of stabbing you.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram in Cipher.*]

War Department, February 1, 1863.
Governor O. P. Morton, Indianapolis, Ind.

I think it would not do for me to meet you at Harrisburg. It would be known and would be misconstrued a thousand ways. Of course if the whole truth could be told and accepted as truth, it would do no harm, but that is impossible. A. Lincoln.

See letter to Governors of Indiana, etc., of May 21, 1864.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., October 13, 1864.
Governor Oliver P. Morton, Indianapolis, Indiana.

In my letter borne by Mr. Mitchell to General Sherman, I said that any soldiers he could spare for October need not to remain for November. I therefore cannot press the general on this point. All that the Secretary of War and General Sherman feel they can safely do, I, however, shall be glad of. Bravo for Indiana and for yourself personally! A. Lincoln.

Beriah Magoffin.

Washington, D. C., August 24, 1861.
To His Excellency B. Magoffin,
Governor of the State of Kentucky.

Sir: Your letter of the 19th instant, in which you "urge the removal from the limits of Kentucky of the military force now organized and in camp within said State," is received.

I may not possess full and precisely accurate knowledge upon this subject, but I believe it is

true that there is a military force in camp within Kentucky acting by authority of the United States, which force is not very large, and is not now being augmented.

I also believe that some arms have been furnished to this force by the United States.

I also believe that this force consists exclusively of Kentuckians, having their camp in the immediate vicinity of their own homes, and not assailing or menacing any of the good people of Kentucky.

In all I have done in the premises, I have acted upon the urgent solicitation of many Kentuckians, and in accordance with what I believed, and still believe, to be the wish of a majority of all the Union-loving people of Kentucky.

While I have conversed on this subject with many eminent men of Kentucky, including a large majority of her members of Congress, I do not remember that any one of them, or any other person, except your Excellency and the bearers of your Excellency's letter, has urged me to remove the military force from Kentucky or to disband it. One other very worthy citizen of Kentucky did solicit me to have the augmenting of the force suspended for a time.

Taking all the means within my reach to form a judgment, I do not believe it is the popular wish of Kentucky that this force shall be removed beyond her limits, and, with this impression, I must respectfully decline to so remove it. I most cordially sympathize with your Excellency in the wish to preserve the peace of my own native State, Kentucky; but it is with regret I search [*for*], and cannot find, in your not very

short letter any declaration or intimation that you entertain any desire for the preservation of the Federal Union.

Your obedient servant, Abraham Lincoln.

See letter to Henry W. Halleck of April 9, 1862.

John C. Frémont.[1]

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, August 15, 1861.

To Major-General Frémont: Been answering your messages since day before yesterday. Do you receive the answers? The War Department has notified all the governors you designate to forward all available force. So telegraphed you. Have you received these messages? Answer immediately. A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., September 2, 1861.

Major-General Frémont.

My dear Sir: Two points in your proclamation of August 30[2] give me some anxiety:

First. Should you shoot a man, according to the proclamation, the Confederates would very certainly shoot our best men in their hands in retaliation; and so, man for man, indefinitely. It is, therefore, my order that you allow no man to be shot under the proclamation without first having my approbation or consent.

Second. I think there is great danger that the

[1] General Frémont had been the first Republican candidate for President (in 1856), and was exceedingly popular with the radical members of that party. He was placed in command of Missouri at the outbreak of the war, but acted so independently of the Government that he greatly embarrassed it.

[2] A proclamation of military emancipation.

closing paragraph, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberating slaves of traitorous owners, will alarm our Southern Union friends and turn them against us; perhaps ruin our rather fair prospect for Kentucky. Allow me, therefore, to ask that you will, as of your own motion, modify that paragraph so as to conform to the first and fourth sections of the act of Congress entitled, "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," approved August 6, 1861, and a copy of which act I herewith send you.

This letter is written in a spirit of caution, and not of censure. I send it by special messenger, in order that it may certainly and speedily reach you. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Order.*]

Washington, September 11, 1861.

Major-General John C. Frémont.

Sir: Yours of the 8th, in answer to mine of the 2d instant, is just received. Assuming that you, upon the ground, could better judge of the necessities of your position than I could at this distance, on seeing your proclamation of August 30 I perceived no general objection to it. The particular clause, however, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves appeared to me to be objectionable in its nonconformity to the act of Congress passed the 6th of last August upon the same subjects; and hence I wrote you, expressing my wish that that clause should be modified accordingly. Your answer, just received, expresses the preference on your part that I should make an open order for the modification, which I very cheerfully do. It is

therefore ordered that the said clause of said proclamation be so modified, held, and construed as to conform to, and not to transcend, the provisions on the same subject contained in the act of Congress entitled, "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," approved August 6, 1861, and that said act be published at length with this order.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

See letter to Mrs. John C. Frémont of September 12, 1861.

[*General Orders No. 18.*]

Headquarters of the Army,
Washington, October 14, 1861.

Major-General Frémont, of the United States Army, the present commander of the Western Department of the same, will, on the receipt of this order, call Major-General Hunter, of the United States Volunteers, to relieve him temporarily in that command, when he (Major-General Frémont) will report to general headquarters by letter for further orders.

Winfield Scott.

By command: E. D. Townsend, Assistant Adjutant-General.

In March, 1862, command of the newly organized Mountain Department of western Virginia, and eastern Kentucky and Tennessee, was given General Frémont.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 16, 1862.

Major-General Frémont, Franklin.

The President desires to know whether you design to move on to the Virginia and Tennes-

see Railroad and break it between Newbern and Salem, according to the plan you proposed and he approved; and also whether, having reached and broken that road, you cannot move forward rapidly upon Richmond by that route; and by what time you can reach the railroad, and how long it will take you from there to reach Richmond. Please answer immediately.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

The President planned a concerted movement of Frémont, N. P. Banks, and Irvin McDowell to capture General Thomas J. ("Stonewall") Jackson and General Richard S. Ewell in the upper Shenandoah Valley. It was unsuccessful because of Frémont's failure to obey orders promptly, as indicated by the following telegrams.

(See also correspondence with McDowell and Banks.)

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 24, 1862. 4 p. m.

Major-General Frémont, Franklin.

You are authorized to purchase the 400 horses, or take them wherever or however you can get them.

The exposed condition of General Banks makes his immediate relief a point of paramount importance. You are therefore directed by the President to move against Jackson at Harrisonburg and operate against the enemy in such way as to relieve Banks. This movement must be made immediately. You will acknowledge the receipt of this order, and specify the hour it is received by you. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 24, 1862. 7.15 p. m.
Major-General Frémont, Franklin, Virginia.

Many thanks for the promptness with which you have answered that you will execute the order. Much—perhaps all—depends upon the celerity with which you can execute it. Put the utmost speed into it. Do not lose a minute.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

May 27, 1862. 9.58 p. m.
Major-General Frémont.

I see that you are at Moorefield. You were expressly ordered to march to Harrisonburg. What does this mean? A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 28, 1862.
Major-General Frémont, Moorefield.

The President directs you to halt at Moorefield and await orders, unless you hear of the enemy being in the general direction of Romney, in which case you will move upon him.

Acknowledge the receipt of this order, and the hour it is received.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 28, 1862.
Major-General Frémont, Moorefield.

The following despatch has just been received from General Hamilton, at Harper's Ferry:

Harper's Ferry, May 28.

Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

There is very little doubt that Jackson's force is between Winchester and Charlestown. His troops were too much fatigued to pursue Banks. A large body of rebel cavalry is near Charlestown now.

Jackson and Ewell were near Bunker Hill yesterday at noon.

Of this last there is no doubt.

C. S. Hamilton, Brigadier-General.

The above probably indicates the true position of the enemy at this time. The President directs you to move upon him by the best route you can.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 28, 1862. 11 p. m.

Major-General John C. Frémont, Moorefield:

The order to remain at Moorefield was based on the supposition that it would find you there.

Upon subsequent information that the enemy were still operating in the vicinity of Winchester and Martinsburg, you were directed to move against the enemy.

The President now again directs you to move against the enemy without delay.

Please acknowledge the receipt of this, and the time received.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 29, 1862. 12 m.

Major-General Frémont, Moorefield, Virginia.

General McDowell's advance, if not checked by the enemy, should, and probably will, be at Front Royal by twelve (noon) to-morrow. His

force, when up, will be about 20,000. Please have your force at Strasburg, or, if the route you are moving on does not lead to that point, as near Strasburg as the enemy may be by the same time. Your despatch No. 30 received and satisfactory. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 30, 1862. 11.30 a. m.
Major-General Frémont, Moorefield, Virginia.

Yours of this morning from Moorefield just received. There cannot be more than 20,000, probably not more than 15,000, of the enemy at or about Winchester. Where is your force? It ought this minute to be near Strasburg. Answer at once. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 30, 1862. 2.30 p. m.
Major-General Frémont, Moorefield, Virginia.

Yours, saying you will reach Strasburg or vicinity at 5 p. m. Saturday, has been received and sent to General McDowell, and he directed to act in view of it. You must be up to time you promised, if possible. . . . A. Lincoln.

Frémont arrived in Strasburg just after Jackson had passed through it retreating southward.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 9, 1862.
Major-General Frémont.

Halt at Harrisonburg, pursuing Jackson no farther. Get your force well in hand and stand on the defensive, guarding against a movement

of the enemy either back toward Strasburg or toward Franklin, and await further orders, which will soon be sent you. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 12, 1862. 1 a. m.

Major-General Frémont.

Your despatch of yesterday to the President has just been received.

He directs me to say that Mount Jackson will serve the purpose he had in view as well as Harrisonburg, except that it does not so well guard against the enemy's operations toward western Virginia. But if, in view of all the circumstances, you prefer the position of Mount Jackson, you will occupy it instead of Harrisonburg.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

Washington, June 12, 1862.

Major-General Frémont.

Accounts, which we do not credit, represent that Jackson is largely reinforced and turning upon you. Get your forces well in hand and keep us well and frequently advised; and if you find yourself really pressed by a superior force of the enemy, fall back cautiously toward or to Winchester, and we will have in due time Banks in position to sustain you. Do not fall back upon Harrisonburg unless upon tolerably clear necessity. We understand Jackson is on the other side of the Shenandoah from you, and hence cannot in any event press you into any necessity of a precipitate withdrawal. A. Lincoln.

P. S. Yours, preferring Mount Jackson to Harrisonburg, is just received. On this point

use your discretion, remembering that our object is to give such protection as you can to western Virginia. Many thanks to yourself, officers, and men for the gallant battle of last Sunday.

A. L.

Washington, June 13, 1862.

Major-General Frémont.

We cannot afford to keep your force and Banks's and McDowell's engaged in keeping Jackson south of Strasburg and Front Royal. You fought Jackson alone and worsted him. He can have no substantial reinforcements so long as a battle is pending at Richmond. Surely you and Banks in supporting distance are capable of keeping him from returning to Winchester. But if Sigel be sent forward to you, and McDowell (as he must) be put to other work, Jackson will break through at Front Royal again. He is already on the right side of the Shenandoah to do it, and on the wrong side of it to attack you. The orders already sent you and Banks place you and him in the proper positions for the work assigned you. Jackson cannot move his whole force on either of you before the other can learn of it and go to his assistance. He cannot divide his force, sending part against each of you, because he will be too weak for either. Please do as I directed in the order of the 8th and my despatch of yesterday, the 12th, and neither you nor Banks will be overwhelmed by Jackson. By proper scout lookouts, and beacons of smoke by day and fires by night, you can always have timely notice of the enemy's approach. I know not as to you, but by some this has been too much neglected.

A. Lincoln.

War Department, June 15, 1862.

Major-General Frémont.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the 12th by Colonel Zagonyi is just received. In answer to the principal part of it, I repeat the substance of an order of the 8th and one or two telegraphic despatches sent you since.

We have no indefinite power of sending reinforcements; so that we are compelled rather to consider the proper disposal of the forces we have than of those we could wish to have. We may be able to send you some dribs by degrees, but I do not believe we can do more. As you alone beat Jackson last Sunday, I argue that you are stronger than he is to-day, unless he has been reinforced; and that he cannot have been materially reinforced, because such reinforcement could only have come from Richmond, and he is much more likely to go to Richmond than Richmond is to come to him. Neither is very likely. I think Jackson's game—his assigned work—now is to magnify the accounts of his numbers and reports of his movements, and thus by constant alarms keep three or four times as many of our troops away from Richmond as his own force amounts to. Thus he helps his friends at Richmond three or four times as much as if he were there. Our game is not to allow this. Accordingly, by the order of the 8th, I directed you to halt at Harrisonburg, rest your force, and get it well in hand, the objects being to guard against Jackson's returning by the same route to the upper Potomac, over which you have just driven him out, and at the same time give some protection against a raid into West Virginia. Already I have given you discretion to occupy

Mount Jackson instead, if, on full consideration, you think best. I do not believe Jackson will attack you, but certainly he cannot attack you by surprise; and if he comes upon you in superior force, you have but to notify us, fall back cautiously, and Banks will join you in due time. But while we know not whether Jackson will move at all, or by what route, we cannot safely put you and Banks both on the Strasburg line, and leave no force on the Front Royal line—the very line upon which he prosecuted his late raid. The true policy is to place one of you on one line and the other on the other, in such positions that you can unite once you actually find Jackson moving upon it. And this is precisely what we are doing. This protects that part of our frontier, so to speak, and liberates McDowell to go to the assistance of McClellan. I have arranged this, and am very unwilling to have it deranged. While you have only asked for Sigel, I have spoken only of Banks, and this because Sigel's force is now the principal part of Banks's force.

About transferring General Schenck's command, the purchase of supplies, and the promotion and appointment of officers, mentioned in your letter, I will consult with the Secretary of War to-morrow. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Washington, June 16, 1862.

Major-General Frémont, Mount Jackson, Virginia.

Your despatch of yesterday, reminding me of a supposed understanding that I would furnish you a corps of 35,000 men, and asking of me the "fulfilment of this understanding," is re-

ceived. I am ready to come to a fair settlement of accounts with you on the fulfilment of understandings.

Early in March last, when I assigned you to the command of the Mountain Department, I did tell you I would give you all the force I could, and that I hoped to make it reach 35,000. You at the same time told me that within a reasonable time you would seize the railroad at or east of Knoxville, Tenn., if you could. There was then in the department a force supposed to be 25,000, the exact number as well known to you as to me. After looking about two or three days, you called and distinctly told me that if I would add the Blenker division to the force already in the department, you would undertake the job. The Blenker division contained 10,000, and at the expense of great dissatisfaction to General McClellan I took it from his army and gave it to you. My promise was literally fulfilled. I have given you all I could, and I have given you very nearly, if not quite, 35,000.

Now for yours. On the 23d of May, largely over two months afterward, you were at Franklin, Va., not within 300 miles of Knoxville, nor within 80 miles of any part of the railroad east of it, and not moving forward, but telegraphing here that you could not move for lack of everything. Now, do not misunderstand me. I do not say you have not done all you could. I presume you met unexpected difficulties; and I beg you to believe that as surely as you have done your best, so have I. I have not the power now to fill up your corps to 35,000. I am not demanding of you to do the work of 35,000. I am only asking of you to stand cautiously on the defensive,

get your force in order, and give such protection as you can to the valley of the Shenandoah and to western Virginia.

Have you received the orders, and will you act upon them? A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 17, 1862.

Major-General Frémont, Mount Jackson.

It is reported here that you understand the President's order to you as requiring you to remain at Mount Jackson. The President directs me to say that he does wish you to hold your position at Mount Jackson if you can safely do so; but, if pressed beyond your strength, that you will then fall back toward Strasburg, for support from General Banks. General Banks is now here, and will see you immediately upon his return to his command.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

David Hunter.

Washington, D. C., September 9, 1861.

Major-General David Hunter.

My dear Sir: General Frémont needs assistance which it is difficult to give him. He is losing the confidence of men near him, whose support any man in his position must have to be successful. His cardinal mistake is that he isolates himself and allows nobody to see him, and by which he does not know what is going on in the very matter he is dealing with. He needs to have by his side a man of large experience. Will you not, for me, take that place? Your rank is one grade too high to be ordered to it,

but will you not serve the country and oblige me by taking it voluntarily? A. Lincoln.

See letter to John C. Frémont, October 14, 1861.

Washington, October 24, 1861.

To the Commander of the Department of the West.

Sir: The command of the Department of the West having devolved upon you, I propose to offer you a few suggestions. Knowing how hazardous it is to bind down a distant commander in the field to specific lines and operations, as so much always depends on a knowledge of localities and passing events, it is intended, therefore, to leave a considerable margin for the exercise of your judgment and discretion.

The main rebel army (Price's) west of the Mississippi is believed to have passed Dade County in full retreat upon northwestern Arkansas, leaving Missouri almost freed from the enemy, excepting in the southeast of the State. Assuming this basis of facts, it seems desirable, as you are not likely to overtake Price, and are in danger of making too long a line from your own base of supplies and reinforcements, that you should give up the pursuit, halt your main army, divide it into two corps of observation, one occupying Sedalia and the other Rolla, the present termini of railroads; then recruit the condition of both corps, by reëstablishing and improving their discipline and instructions, perfecting their clothing and equipments, and providing less uncomfortable quarters. Of course both railroads must be guarded and kept open, judiciously employing just so much force as is necessary for this. From these two points, Sedalia

and Rolla, and especially in judicious coöperation with Lane on the Kansas border, it would be so easy to concentrate and repel any army of the enemy returning on Missouri from the southwest, that it is not probable any such attempt will be made before or during the approaching cold weather. Before spring the people of Missouri will probably be in no favorable mood to renew for next year the troubles which have so much afflicted and impoverished them during this. If you adopt this line of policy, and if, as I anticipate, you will see no enemy in great force approaching, you will have a surplus force which you can withdraw from these points and direct to others as may be needed, the railroads furnishing ready means of reinforcing these main points if occasion requires. Doubtless local uprisings will for a time continue to occur, but these can be met by detachments and local forces of our own, and will ere long tire out of themselves.

While, as stated in the beginning of the letter, a large discretion must be and is left with yourself, I feel sure that an indefinite pursuit of Price or an attempt by this long and circuitous route to reach Memphis will be exhaustive beyond endurance, and will end in the loss of the whole force engaged in it.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

See letter to S. R. Curtis of October 24, 1861.

Mrs. John C. Frémont (Jessie Benton).

Washington, D. C., September 12, 1861.

Mrs. General Frémont.

My dear Madam: Your two notes of to-day are before me. I answered the letter you bore

me from General Frémont on yesterday, and not hearing from you during the day, I sent the answer to him by mail. It is not exactly correct, as you say you were told by the elder Mr. Blair, to say that I sent Postmaster-General Blair to St. Louis to examine into that department and report. Postmaster-General Blair did go, with my approbation, to see and converse with General Frémont as a friend. I do not feel authorized to furnish you with copies of letters in my possession without the consent of the writers. No impression has been made on my mind against the honor or integrity of General Frémont, and I now enter my protest against being understood as acting in any hostility toward him.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Joseph Holt.

Executive Mansion, September 12, 1861.

Hon. Joseph Holt.

Dear Sir: Yours of this day, in relation to the late proclamation of General Frémont, is received. Yesterday I addressed a letter to him by mail on the same subject, and which is intended to be made public when he receives it. I herewith send you a copy of that letter, which, perhaps, shows my position as distinctly as any new one I could write. I will thank you to not make it public until General Frémont shall have had time to receive the original.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

JOHN W. DAVIS.

[*Indorsement on Letter.*]

[About September 15, 1861.]

The President has read this letter, and he deeply commiserates the condition of any one so distressed as the writer seems to be. He does not know Mr. Davis—only knows him to be one of the arrested police commissioners of Baltimore because he says so in this letter. Assuming him to be one of those commissioners, the President understands Mr. Davis could at the time of his arrest, could at any time since, and can now, be released by taking a full oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States, and that Mr. Davis has not been kept in ignorance of this condition of release. If Mr. Davis is still so hostile to the Government, and so determined to aid its enemies in destroying it, he makes his own choice.

ORVILLE H. BROWNING.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Executive Mansion, September 22, 1861.

Hon. O. H. Browning.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 17th is just received; and coming from you, I confess it astonishes me. That you should object to my adhering to a law which you had assisted in making and presenting to me less than a month before is odd enough. But this is a very small part. General Frémont's proclamation as to confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves is purely political and not within the range

of military law or necessity. If a commanding general finds a necessity to seize the farm of a private owner for a pasture, an encampment, or a fortification, he has the right to do so, and to so hold it as long as the necessity lasts; and this is within military law, because within military necessity. But to say the farm shall no longer belong to the owner, or his heirs forever, and this as well when the farm is not needed for military purposes as when it is, is purely political, without the savor of military law about it. And the same is true of slaves. If the general needs them, he can seize them and use them; but when the need is past, it is not for him to fix their permanent future condition. That must be settled according to laws made by law-makers, and not by military proclamations. The proclamation in the point in question is simply "dictatorship." It assumes that the general may do anything he pleases—confiscate the lands and free the slaves of loyal people, as well as of disloyal ones. And going the whole figure, I have no doubt, would be more popular with some thoughtless people than that which has been done! But I cannot assume this reckless position, nor allow others to assume it on my responsibility.

You speak of it as being the only means of saving the Government. On the contrary, it is itself the surrender of the Government. Can it be pretended that it is any longer the Government of the United States—any government of constitution and laws—wherein a general or a president may make permanent rules of property by proclamation? I do not say Congress might not with propriety pass a law on the point, just such as General Frémont proclaimed. I do not

say I might not, as a member of Congress, vote for it. What I object to is, that I, as President, shall expressly or impliedly seize and exercise the permanent legislative functions of the Government.

So much as to principle. Now as to policy. No doubt the thing was popular in some quarters, and would have been more so if it had been a general declaration of emancipation. The Kentucky legislature would not budge till that proclamation was modified; and General Anderson telegraphed me that on the news of General Frémont having actually issued deeds of manumission, a whole company of our volunteers threw down their arms and disbanded. I was so assured as to think it probable that the very arms we had furnished Kentucky would be turned against us. I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game. Kentucky gone, we cannot hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland. These all against us, and the job on our hands is too large for us. We would as well consent to separation at once, including the surrender of this capital. On the contrary, if you will give up your restlessness for new positions, and back me manfully on the grounds upon which you and other kind friends gave me the election and have approved in my public documents, we shall go through triumphantly. You must understand I took my course on the proclamation because of Kentucky. I took the same ground in a private letter to General Frémont before I heard from Kentucky.

You think I am inconsistent because I did not also forbid General Frémont to shoot men under

the proclamation. I understand that part to be within military law, but I also think, and so privately wrote General Frémont, that it is impolitic in this, that our adversaries have the power, and will certainly exercise it, to shoot as many of our men as we shoot of theirs. I do not say this in the public letter, because it is a subject I prefer not to discuss in the hearing of our enemies.

There has been no thought of removing General Frémont on any ground connected with his proclamation, and if there has been any wish for his removal on any ground, our mutual friend Sam. Glover can probably tell you what it was. I hope no real necessity for it exists on any ground. Your friend as ever, A. Lincoln.

Chaplains of Hospitals.

[*Schedule A.*]

Executive Mansion, September 25, 1861.

Rev. G. G. Goss and Others.

Having been solicited by Christian ministers and other pious people to appoint suitable persons to act as chaplains at the hospitals for our sick and wounded soldiers, and feeling the intrinsic propriety of having such persons to so act, and yet believing there is no law conferring the power upon me to appoint them, I think fit to say that if you will voluntarily enter upon and perform the appropriate duties of such position, I will recommend that Congress make compensation therefor at the same rate as chaplains in the army are compensated.

See letter to John Hughes, October 21, 1861.

MAJOR RAMSEY.

Executive Mansion, October 17, 1861.

My dear Sir: The lady bearer of this says she has two sons who want to work. Wanting to work is so rare a want that it should be encouraged. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

JOHN HUGHES.

Washington, D. C., October 21, 1861.

Archbishop Hughes.

Right Reverend Sir: I am sure you will pardon me if in my ignorance I do not address you with technical correctness. I find no law authorizing the appointment of chaplains for our hospitals; and yet the services of chaplains are more needed, perhaps, in the hospitals than with the healthy soldiers in the field. With this view, I have given a sort of *quasi* appointment (a copy of which I inclose) to each of three Protestant ministers, who have accepted and entered upon their duties.

If you perceive no objection, I will thank you to give me the name or names of one or more suitable persons of the Catholic Church, to whom I may with propriety tender the same service.

Many thanks for your kind and judicious letters to Governor Seward, and which he regularly allows me both the pleasure and the profit of perusing. With the highest respect,

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Samuel R. Curtis.[1]

On October 24, 1861, the President sent to General Curtis at St. Louis an unsealed document which he was to read, but not make public, and then deliver to whatever officer was in command at the time of the Department of the West, whether Frémont or Hunter.

The following letter was also sent:

Washington, October 24, 1861.

Brigadier-General S. R. Curtis.

Dear Sir: On receipt of this, with the accompanying inclosures, you will take safe, certain, and suitable measures to have the inclosure addressed to Major-General Frémont [2] delivered to him with all reasonable despatch, subject to these conditions only: that if, when General Frémont shall be reached by the messenger—yourself or any one sent by you—he shall then have, in personal command, fought and won a battle, or shall then be actually in a battle, or shall then be in the immediate presence of the enemy in expectation of a battle, it is not to be delivered, but held for further orders. After, and not till after, the delivery to General Frémont, let the inclosure addressed to General Hunter be delivered to him.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

In September, 1862, General Curtis, who had distinguished himself by defeating Price and McCulloch at Pea Ridge, Ark., on March 6–8, 1862, succeeded General Henry W. Halleck in command of the Department of the Missouri.

[1] A soldier of the Mexican War, Colonel Curtis resigned his seat as member of Congress from Iowa, and enlisted in the army. He was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers May 17, 1861.

[2] See letter to General Frémont of October 24, 1861.

On October 10, 1862, the President, at the suggestion of John Ross, principal chief of the Cherokees, then in exile in Washington, wrote to General Curtis for his opinion on the advisability of sending loyal Cherokee regiments with some white forces operating with them to occupy the Cherokee country in Indian Territory.

Washington, D. C., October 12, 1862.
Major-General Curtis, St. Louis, Missouri.

Would the completion of the railroad some distance farther in the direction of Springfield, Mo., be of any military advantage to you? Please answer. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, December 10, 1862.
Major-General Curtis, St. Louis, Missouri.

Please suspend, until further order, all proceedings on the order made by General Schofield, on the twenty-eighth day of August last, for assessing and collecting from secessionists and Southern sympathizers the sum of five hundred thousand dollars, etc., and in the meantime make out and send me a statement of facts pertinent to the question, together with your opinion upon it.
A. Lincoln.

Washington, December 16, 1862.
Major-General Curtis, Saint Louis, Mo.

N. W. Watkins, of Jackson, Mo. (who is half brother to Henry Clay), writes me that a colonel of ours has driven him from his home at Jackson. Will you please look into the case and restore the old man to his home if the public interest will admit? A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, December 17, 1862.
Major-General Curtis.

Could the civil authority be reintroduced into Missouri in lieu of the military to any extent, with advantage and safety? A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, December 19, 1862.
Major-General Curtis, Saint Louis, Mo.

Hon. —— Hall, M. C., here tells me, and Governor Gamble telegraphs me that quiet can be maintained in all the counties north of the Missouri River by the enrolled militia. Confer with Governor Gamble and telegraph me.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, January 2, 1863.
Major-General Curtis.

My dear Sir: Yours of December 29 by the hand of Mr. Strong is just received. The day I telegraphed you suspending the order in relation to Dr. McPheeters, he, with Mr. Bates, the Attorney-General, appeared before me and left with me a copy of the order mentioned. The doctor also showed me the copy of an oath which he said he had taken, which is, indeed, very strong and specific. He also verbally assured me that he had constantly prayed in church for the President and Government, as he had always done before the present war. In looking over the recitals in your order, I do not see that this matter of the prayer, as he states it, is negatived, nor that any violation of his oath is charged, nor, in fact, that anything specific is alleged against him. The charges are all general; that he has a rebel wife and rebel relations, that he sympathizes with rebels, and that he exercises

rebel influence. Now, after talking with him, I tell you frankly I believe he does sympathize with the rebels, but the question remains whether such a man, of unquestioned good moral character, who has taken such an oath as he has, and cannot even be charged with violating it, and who can be charged with no other specific act or omission, can, with safety to the Government, be exiled upon the suspicion of his secret sympathies. But I agree that this must be left to you, who are on the spot; and if, after all, you think the public good requires his removal, my suspension of the order is withdrawn, only with this qualification, that the time during the suspension is not to be counted against him. I have promised him this. But I must add that the United States Government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches. When an individual in a church or out of it becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked; but let the churches, as such, take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches.[1]

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, January 5, 1863.

Major-General Curtis.

My dear Sir: I am having a good deal of trouble with Missouri matters, and I now sit down to write you particularly about it. One class of friends believe in greater severity and another in greater leniency in regard to arrests, banishments, and assessments. As usual in such cases, each questions the other's motives. On

[1] See also letter to McPheeters.

the one hand, it is insisted that Governor Gamble's unionism, at most, is not better than a secondary spring of action; that hunkerism [1] and a wish for political influence stand before unionism with him. On the other hand, it is urged that arrests, banishments, and assessments are made more for private malice, revenge, and pecuniary interest than for the public good. This morning I was told by a gentleman who I have no doubt believes what he says, that in one case of assessments for $10,000, the different persons who paid compared receipts, and found they had paid $30,000. If this be true, the inference is that the collecting agents pocketed the odd $20,000. And true or not in the instance, nothing but the sternest necessity can justify the making and maintaining of a system so liable to such abuses. Doubtless the necessity for the making of the system in Missouri did exist, and whether it continues for the maintenance of it is now a practical and very important question. Some days ago Governor Gamble telegraphed me, asking that the assessments outside of St. Louis County might be suspended, as they already have been within it, and this morning all the members of Congress here from Missouri but one laid a paper before me asking the same thing. Now, my belief is that Governor Gamble is an honest and true man, not less so than yourself; that you and he could confer together on this and other Missouri questions with great advantage to the public; that each knows something which the other does not; and that acting

[1] Inert conservatism, so called from a faction of New York Democracy, opposed to the "Barnburners" or radicals. These sat down on their "hunkers" or haunches, and let matters proceed on their old course.

together you could about double your stock of pertinent information. May I not hope that you and he will attempt this? I could at once safely do (or you could safely do without me) whatever you and he agree upon. There is absolutely no reason why you should not agree.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

[Copy sent to Governor Gamble.]

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, January 10, 1863.

Major-General Curtis, St. Louis, Missouri.

I understand there is considerable trouble with the slaves in Missouri. Please do your best to keep peace on the question for two or three weeks, by which time we hope to do something here toward settling the question in Missouri.

A. Lincoln.

On January 14, 1863, Secretary Stanton telegraphed General Curtis to suspend all orders of provost-marshals in the State of Missouri respecting trade, commerce, or anything but the discipline and government of the troops in the United States service, except at St. Louis.

In May, 1863, the President superseded Curtis with General John M. Schofield.

Executive Mansion, June 8, 1863.

Major-General Curtis.

My dear Sir: I have scarcely supposed it possible that you would entirely understand my feelings and motives in making the late change of commander for the department of the Missouri. I inclose you a copy of a letter which I recently addressed to General Schofield, and which will explain the matter in part. It became almost

a matter of personal self-defense to somehow break up the state of things in Missouri. I did not mean to cast any censure upon you, nor to indorse any of the charges made against you by others. With me the presumption is still in your favor; that you are honest, capable, faithful, and patriotic. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

See letter to Charles D. Drake, October 5, 1863.

John A. McClernand.

Washington, November 10, 1861.

Brigadier-General McClernand.

My dear Sir: This is not an official, but a social letter. You have had a battle,[1] and without being able to judge as to the precise measure of its value, I think it is safe to say that you and all with you have done honor to yourselves and the flag, and service to the country. Most gratefully do I thank you and them. In my present position I must care for the whole nation; but I hope it will be no injustice to any other State for me to indulge a little home pride that Illinois does not disappoint us. I have just closed a long interview with Mr. Washburne, in which he has detailed the many difficulties you and those with you labor under. Be assured we do not forget or neglect you. Much, very much, goes undone; but it is because we have not the power to do it faster than we do. Some of your forces are without arms, but the same is true here and at every other place where we have considerable bodies of troops. The plain matter of fact is, our good people have rushed to the rescue of the Government faster than the Government

[1] Belmont, Mo., 1861.

can find arms to put into their hands. It would be agreeable to each division of the army to know its own precise destination; but the Government cannot immediately, nor inflexibly at any time, determine as to all; nor, if determined, can it tell its friends without at the same time telling its enemies. We know you do all as wisely and well as you can; and you will not be deceived if you conclude the same is true of us. Please give my respects and thanks to all.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, January 8, 1863.

Major-General McClernand.

My dear Sir: Your interesting communication by the hand of Major Scates is received. I never did ask more, nor ever was willing to accept less, than for all the States, and the people thereof, to take and hold their places and their rights in the Union, under the Constitution of the United States. For this alone have I felt authorized to struggle, and I seek neither more nor less now. Still, to use a coarse but an expressive figure, "broken eggs cannot be mended." I have issued the Emancipation Proclamation, and I cannot retract it. After the commencement of hostilities, I struggled nearly a year and a half to get along without touching the "institution"; and when finally I conditionally determined to touch it, I gave a hundred days' fair notice of my purpose to all the States and people, within which time they could have turned it wholly aside by simply again becoming good citizens of the United States.

They chose to disregard it, and I made the peremptory proclamation on what appeared to

me to be a military necessity. And being made, it must stand. As to the States not included in it, of course they can have their rights in the Union as of old. Even the people of the States included, if they choose, need not to be hurt by it. Let them adopt systems of apprenticeship for the colored people, conforming substantially to the most approved plans of gradual emancipation; and with the aid they can have from the General Government they may be nearly as well off, in this respect, as if the present trouble had not occurred, and much better off than they can possibly be if the contest continues persistently.

As to any dread of my having a "purpose to enslave or exterminate the whites of the South," I can scarcely believe that such dread exists. It is too absurd. I believe you can be my personal witness that no man is less to be dreaded for undue severity in any case.

If the friends you mention really wish to have peace upon the old terms, they should act at once. Every day makes the case more difficult.

They can so act with entire safety, so far as I am concerned.

I think you had better not make this letter public; but you may rely confidently on my standing by whatever I have said in it. Please write me if anything more comes to light.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, January 22, 1863.

Major-General McClernand.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 7th was received yesterday. I need not recite because you remember the contents. The charges in their nature are such that I must know as much about the

facts involved as you can. I have too many family controversies, so to speak, already on my hands to voluntarily, or so long as I can avoid it, take up another. You are now doing well—well for the country, and well for yourself—much better than you could possibly be if engaged in open war with General Halleck. Allow me to beg that, for your sake, for my sake, and for the country's sake, you give your whole attention to the better work.

Your success upon the Arkansas[1] was both brilliant and valuable, and is fully appreciated by the country and Government.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, August 12, 1863.

Major-General McClernand.

My dear Sir: Our friend, William G. Greene, has just presented a kind letter in regard to yourself, addressed to me by our other friends, Yates, Hatch, and Dubois.

I doubt whether your present position is more painful to you than to myself. Grateful for the patriotic stand so early taken by you in this life-and-death struggle of the nation, I have done whatever has appeared practicable to advance you and the public interest together. No charges, with a view to a trial, have been preferred against you by any one; nor do I suppose any will be. All there is, so far as I have heard, is General Grant's statement of his reasons for relieving you.[2] And even this I have not seen or sought to see; because it is a case,

[1] The capture of Arkansas Post (Fort Hindman), on January 11, 1863.

[2] McClernand was relieved of his command in July, 1863.

as appears to me, in which I could do nothing without doing harm. General Grant and yourself have been conspicuous in our most important successes; and for me to interfere and thus magnify a breach between you could not but be of evil effect. Better leave it where the law of the case has placed it. For me to force you back upon General Grant would be forcing him to resign. I cannot give you a new command, because we have no forces except such as already have commanders.

I am constantly pressed by those who scold before they think, or without thinking at all, to give commands respectively to Frémont, McClellan, Butler, Sigel, Curtis, Hunter, Hooker, and perhaps others, when, all else out of the way, I have no commands to give them. This is now your case; which, as I have said, pains me not less than it does you. My belief is that the permanent estimate of what a general does in the field is fixed by the "cloud of witnesses" who have been with him in the field; and that relying on these, he who has the right needs not to fear.

Your friend as ever, A. Lincoln.

War Department, September 14, 1863.

Major-General John A. McClernand, Springfield, Illinois.

General: Your letter of the 5th instant has been submitted to the President, who directs me to say that a court of inquiry embracing any one of the subjects specified in that letter would necessarily withdraw from the field many officers whose presence with their commands is absolutely indispensable to the service, and whose absence might cause irreparable injury to the

success of operations now in active progress. For these reasons he declines at present your application, but if hereafter it can be done without prejudice to the service, he will, in view of your anxiety upon the subject, order a court.

Your obedient servant,
Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

General McClernand resigned from the army, November 30, 1864.

George Bancroft.[1]

New York, November 15, 1861.

My dear Sir: Following out your suggestion, a very numerous meeting of New-Yorkers assembled last week to take measures for relieving the loyal sufferers of Hatteras. I take the liberty to inclose to you some remarks which I made on the occasion. You will find in them a copy of an unpublished letter of one of your most honored predecessors, with which you cannot fail to be pleased.

Your Administration has fallen upon times which will be remembered as long as human events find a record. I sincerely wish to you the glory of perfect success. Civil War is the instrument of Divine Providence to root out social slavery. Posterity will not be satisfied with the result unless the consequences of the war shall effect an increase of free States. This is the universal expectation and hope of men of all parties.

Very respectfully yours, Geo. Bancroft.

[1] Mr. Bancroft, as Secretary of the Navy under Polk in 1845-46, had established the Naval Academy at Annapolis, and caused the seizure of California. From 1846 to 1849 he was Minister to Great Britain, and after the war, from 1867 to 1874, Minister to Germany. While his history of the United States had not been completed in 1861, the volumes already published had won him the reputation of the greatest American historian and an ardent patriot.

Executive Mansion, November 18, 1861.

Hon. Geo. Bancroft.

My dear Sir: I esteem it a high honor to have received a note from Mr. Bancroft, inclosing the report of proceedings of a New York meeting taking measures for the relief of Union people of North Carolina. I thank you and all others participating for this benevolent and patriotic movement.

The main thought in the closing paragraph of your letter is one which does not escape my attention, and with which I must deal in all due caution, and with the best judgment I can bring to it. Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

HIRAM WALBRIDGE.

Washington, November 18, 1861.

Dear Sir: Your note reminding me of the fact that as early as April last you pointed out to me on the map Port Royal and Branfort as advantageous places to make lodgments on the Southern coast, is received. I am free to confess you were the first who called my attention to that particular locality. I also remember that you insisted we should call six hundred thousand men into the field, a considerable length of time before I had brought my own mind up to anything near so large a scale.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

ROBERT J. WALKER.

Washington, November 21, 1861.

Dear Governor: I have thought over the interview which Mr. Gilmore has had with Mr. Greeley, and the proposal that Greeley has made

to Gilmore, namely, that he (Gilmore) shall communicate to him (Greeley) all that he learns from you of the inner workings of the Administration, in return for his (Greeley's) giving such aid as he can to the new magazine, and allowing you (Walker) from time to time the use of his (Greeley's) columns when it is desirable to feel of, or forestall, public opinion on important subjects. The arrangement meets my unqualified approval, and I shall further it to the extent of my ability, by opening to you—as I do now—fully the policy of the Government—its present views and future intentions when formed—giving you permission to communicate them to Gilmore for Greeley; and in case you go to Europe I will give these things direct to Gilmore. But all this must be on the express and explicit understanding that the fact of these communications coming from me shall be absolutely confidential—not to be disclosed by Greeley to his nearest friend, or any of his subordinates. He will be, in effect, my mouthpiece, but I shall not be known to be the speaker.

I need not tell you that I have the highest confidence in Mr. Greeley. He is a great power. Having him firmly behind me will be as helpful to me as an army of one hundred thousand men. That he has ever kicked the traces has been owing to his not being fully informed. Tell Gilmore to say to him that, if he ever objects to my policy, I shall be glad to have him state to me his views frankly and fully. I shall adopt his if I can. If I cannot, I will at least tell him why. He and I should stand together, and let no minor differences come between us; for we both seek one end, which is the saving of our

country. Now, Governor, this is a longer letter than I have written in a month—longer than I would have written for any other man than Horace Greeley.

Your friend, truly, Abraham Lincoln.

P. S.—The sooner Gilmore sees Greeley the better, as you may before long think it wise to ventilate our policy on the *Trent* affair.[1]

Adèle Cutts (Mrs. Stephen A.) Douglas.

Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln's old antagonist in State and national politics, had angered the South by his shifty position on the extension of slavery, and by his support, previously to his death, June 3, 1861, of strong measures to put down the rebellion. His first wife, Martha, the daughter of Colonel Robert Martin, of North Carolina, died in 1853, leaving him two sons, who were minors at this time, and heirs to her Southern property, and their stepmother was in a quandary over her duty toward them.

[*Memorandum.*]

Executive Mansion, November 27, 1861.

Yesterday Mrs. Douglas called, saying she is guardian of the minor children of her late husband; that she is being urged, against her inclination, to send them South on the plea of avoiding the confiscation of their property there, and asking my counsel in the case.

I expect the United States will overcome the attempt to confiscate property because of loyalty to the Government; but if not, I still do not ex-

[1] The capture by Captain Charles Wilkes of the British steamer *Trent* on November 8, 1861, and the forcible removal therefrom of the Confederate commissioners to Great Britain and to France, James M. Mason and John Slidell, had brought about a critical situation in our foreign affairs.

pect the property of absent minor children will be confiscated. I therefore think Mrs. Douglas may safely act her pleasure in the premises.

But it is especially dangerous for my name to be connected with the matter, for nothing would more certainly excite the secessionists to do the worst they can against the children.

PART II

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS

(After March 4, 1861)

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THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

(After March 4, 1861)

[*Continued*]

THE LINCOLN HOME IN SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

From an Engraving by J. C. McRae after a Drawing by Paul Dixon

CORRESPONDENCE

(After March 4, 1861)

[*Continued.*]

Henry W. Halleck.[1]

On December 2, 1861, the President authorized General Halleck, of the Department of Missouri, to suspend therein the writ of habeas corpus and to exercise martial law in his discretion.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., December 31, 1861.

General H. W. Halleck, St. Louis, Missouri.

General McClellan is sick. Are General Buell and yourself in concert? When he moves on Bowling Green, what hinders it being reinforced from Columbus? A simultaneous movement by you on Columbus might prevent it.

A. Lincoln.

[Similar despatch to Buell same date.]

Executive Mansion, January 1, 1862.

My dear General Halleck: General McClellan is not dangerously ill, as I hope, but would better not be disturbed with business. I am very anx-

[1] At the outbreak of the war General Halleck rivalled General George B. McClellan in reputation as a military authority. A graduate of West Point in 1839, he published in 1846 a book, *The Elements of Military Art and Science*, which was regarded as a classic. He was prominent in military and political movements in California from 1846 to 1854. The President appointed him commander of the Department of Missouri in November, 1861.

ious that, in case of General Buell's moving toward Nashville, the enemy shall not be greatly reinforced, and I think there is danger he will be from Columbus. It seems to me that a real or feigned attack on Columbus from up-river at the same time would either prevent this or compensate for it by throwing Columbus into our hands. I wrote General Buell a letter similar to this, meaning that he and you shall communicate and act in concert, unless it be your judgment and his that there is no necessity for it. You and he will understand much better than I how to do it. Please do not lose time in this matter.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

See letter to Don Carlos Buell, on January 1, 1862; on January 7, 1862; on January 13, 1862; and on March 8, 1862.

On January 6, 1862, General Halleck wrote the President, describing the helpless condition of his department, and stating the impossibility of his aiding Buell in Kentucky. He said:

Some of the brigadier-generals assigned to this department are entirely ignorant of their duties and unfit for any command. I assure you, Mr. President, it is very difficult to accomplish much with such means. I am in the condition of a carpenter who is required to build a bridge with a dull ax, a broken saw, and rotten timber. It is true that I have some very good green timber, which will answer the purpose as soon as I can get it into shape and season it a little. . . .

General Buell's army and the forces at Paducah occupy precisely the same position in relation to each other and to the enemy as did the armies of McDowell and Patterson before the battle of Bull Run.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. Halleck, Major-General.

On this letter the President wrote the following indorsement:

[*Indorsement.*]

The within is a copy of a letter just received from General Halleck. It is exceedingly discouraging. As everywhere else, nothing can be done. A. Lincoln.

January 10, 1862.

Washington, D. C., January 15, 1862.

Major-General Halleck.

My dear Sir: This will introduce Governor G. Koerner, of Illinois, who is my personal friend, and who calls on you at my particular request. Please open the sealed letter he will hand you before he leaves you and confer with him as to its contents. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Inclosure.*]

Executive Mansion, January 15, 1862.

Major-General Halleck.

My dear Sir: The Germans are true and patriotic, and so far as they have got cross in Missouri it is upon mistake and misunderstanding. Without a knowledge of its contents, Governor Koerner, of Illinois, will hand you this letter. He is an educated and talented German gentleman, as true a man as lives. With his assistance you can set everything right with the Germans. I write this without his knowledge, asking him at the same time, by letter, to deliver it. My clear judgment is that, with reference to the German element in your command, you should have Governor Koerner with you; and if agreeable to you and him, I will make him a brigadier-general, so that he can afford to so give his time. He does

not wish to command in the field, though he has more military knowledge than many who do. If he goes into the place he will simply be an efficient, zealous, and unselfish assistant to you. I say all this upon intimate personal acquaintance with Governor Koerner.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, February 16, 1862.

Major-General Halleck, St. Louis, Missouri.

You have Fort Donelson safe, unless Grant shall be overwhelmed from outside; to prevent which latter will, I think, require all the vigilance, energy, and skill of yourself and Buell, acting in full coöperation. Columbus will not get at Grant, but the force from Bowling Green will. They hold the railroad from Bowling Green to within a few miles of Fort Donelson, with the bridge at Clarksville undisturbed. It is unsafe to rely that they will not dare to expose Nashville to Buell. A small part of their force can retire slowly toward Nashville, breaking up the railroad as they go, and keep Buell out of that city twenty days. Meanwhile Nashville will be abundantly defended by forces from all South and perhaps from here at Manassas. Could not a cavalry force from General Thomas on the Upper Cumberland dash across, almost unresisted, and cut the railroad at or near Knoxville, Tennessee? In the midst of a bombardment at Fort Donelson, why could not a gunboat run up and destroy the bridge at Clarksville? Our success or failure at Fort Donelson is vastly important, and I beg you to put your soul in the effort. I send a copy of this to Buell. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, April 23, 1862.

Major-General Halleck, Pittsburg Landing.

The President desires to know why you have made no official report to this department respecting the late battle at Pittsburg Landing, and whether any neglect or misconduct of General Grant or any other officer contributed to the sad casualties that befell our forces on Sunday.[1]

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 1, 1862.

Major-General Halleck,

Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee.

I am pressed by the Missouri members of Congress to give General Schofield independent command in Missouri. They insist that for want of this their local troubles gradually grow worse. I have forborne, so far, for fear of interfering with and embarrassing your operations. Please answer, telling me whether anything, and what, I can do for them without injuriously interfering with you. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 24, 1862.

Major-General Halleck,

Near Corinth, Mississippi.

Several despatches from Assistant Secretary Scott and one from Governor Morton asking

[1] April 6, 1862. It was unofficially charged that Grant was drunk during the battle. Lincoln replied to the charge by inquiring the name of the brand of Grant's whiskey, saying he should like to send some of it to certain other generals.

reinforcements for you have been received. I beg you to be assured we do the best we can. I mean to cast no blame when I tell you each of our commanders along our line from Richmond to Corinth supposes himself to be confronted by numbers superior to his own. Under this pressure we thinned the line on the upper Potomac, until yesterday it was broken at heavy loss to us, and General Banks [1] put in great peril, out of which he is not yet extricated, and may be actually captured. We need men to repair this breach, and have them not at hand. My dear general, I feel justified to rely very much on you. I believe you and the brave officers and men with you can and will get the victory at Corinth.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 8, 1862.

Major-General Halleck, Corinth, Mississippi.

We are changing one of the departmental lines, so as to give you all of Kentucky and Tennessee. In your movement upon Chattanooga I think it probable that you include some combination of the force near Cumberland Gap under General Morgan. Do you? A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 18, 1862.

Major-General Halleck, Corinth, Mississippi.

It would be of both interest and value to us here to know how the expedition toward East Tennessee is progressing, if in your judgment you can give us the information with safety.

A. Lincoln.

[1] See correspondence with N. P. Banks and with John C. Frémont.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, June 28, 1862.

Major-General Halleck.

The enemy have concentrated in such force at Richmond as to render it absolutely necessary, in the opinion of the President, for you immediately to detach 25,000 of your force and forward it by the nearest and quickest route by way of Baltimore and Washington to Richmond. It is believed that the quickest route would be by way of Columbus, Ky., and up the Ohio River. But in detaching your force the President directs that it be done in such a way as to enable you to hold your ground and not interfere with the movement against Chattanooga and East Tennessee. This condition being observed, the forces to be detached and the routes they are to be sent are left to your own judgment.

The direction to send these forces immediately is rendered imperative by a serious reverse suffered by General McClellan before Richmond yesterday. . . .

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

Washington, D. C., June 30, 1862.

Major-General Halleck, Corinth, Mississippi.

Would be very glad of 25,000 infantry; no artillery or cavalry; but please do not send a man if it endangers any place you deem important to hold, or if it forces you to give up or weaken or delay the expedition against Chattanooga. To take and hold the railroad at or east of Cleveland, in East Tennessee, I think fully as important as the taking and holding of Richmond.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, June 30, 1862. 3 p. m.
Major-General Halleck, Corinth.

Your telegram of this date just received. The Chattanooga expedition must not on any account be given up. The President regards that and the movement against East Tennessee as one of the most important movements of the war, and its occupation nearly as important as the capture of Richmond. He is not pleased with the tardiness of the movement toward Chattanooga, and directs that no force be sent here if you cannot do it without breaking up the operations against that point and East Tennessee. Infantry only are needed; our cavalry and artillery are strong enough. The first reports from Richmond were more discouraging than the truth warranted. If the advantage is not on our side, it is balanced. General McClellan has moved his whole force on the line of the James River, and is supported there by our gunboats; but he must be largely strengthened before advancing, and hence the call on you, which I am glad you answered so promptly. Let me know to what point on the river you will send your forces, so as to provide immediately for transportation.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., July 2, 1862.
Major-General Halleck, Corinth, Mississippi.

Your several despatches of yesterday to Secretary of War and myself received. I did say, and now repeat, I would be exceedingly glad for some reinforcements from you. Still do not send

a man if in your judgment it will endanger any point you deem important to hold, or will force you to give up or weaken or delay the Chattanooga expedition.

Please tell me could you not make me a flying visit for consultation without endangering the service in your department. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, July 4, 1862.

Major-General Halleck, Corinth, Mississippi.

You do not know how much you would oblige us if, without abandoning any of your positions or plans, you could promptly send us even 10,000 infantry. Can you not? Some part of the Corinth army is certainly fighting McClellan in front of Richmond. Prisoners are in our hands from the late Corinth army. A. Lincoln.

War Department, July 6, 1862.

Major-General Halleck, Corinth, Mississippi.

My dear Sir: This introduces Governor William Sprague, of Rhode Island. He is now governor for the third time, and senator-elect of the United States.

I know the object of his visit to you. He has my cheerful consent to go, but not my direction. He wishes to get you and part of your force, one or both, to come here. You already know I should be exceedingly glad of this if, in your judgment, it could be without endangering positions and operations in the southwest; and I now repeat what I have more than once said by telegraph, "Do not come or send a man if, in your judgment, it will endanger any point you deem

important to hold, or endangers or delays the Chattanooga expedition."

Still, please give my friend, Governor Sprague, a full and fair hearing.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Order.*]

Executive Mansion, July 11, 1862.

Ordered, That Major-General Henry W. Halleck be assigned to command the whole land forces of the United States, as general-in-chief, and that he repair to this capital so soon as he can with safety to the positions and operations within the department now under his charge.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, July 11, 1862.

Major-General Halleck, Corinth.

Governor Johnson, at Nashville, is in great trouble and anxiety about a raid into Kentucky. The Governor is a true and a valuable man—indispensable to us in Tennessee. Will you please get in communication with him, and have a full conference with him before you leave for here? I have telegraphed him on the subject.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, July 13, 1862.

Major-General Halleck, Corinth, Mississippi.

They are having a stampede in Kentucky. Please look to it. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, July 14, 1862.
Major-General Halleck, Corinth, Mississippi.

I am very anxious—almost impatient—to have you here. Have due regard to what you leave behind. When can you reach here?

A. Lincoln.

[*Order.*]

Washington, D. C., September 3, 1862.

Ordered, That the general-in-chief, Major-General Halleck, immediately commence, and proceed with all possible despatch, to organize an army, for active operations, from all the material within and coming within his control, independent of the forces he may deem necessary for the defense of Washington when such active army shall take the field.

By order of the President:

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

McClellan's Headquarters, October 3, 1862.
Major-General Halleck.

General Stuart, of the rebel army, has sent in a few of our prisoners under a flag of truce, paroled with terms to prevent their fighting the Indians, and evidently seeking to commit us to their right to parole our prisoners in that way. My inclination is to send the prisoners back with a distinct notice that we will recognize no paroles given to our prisoners by rebels as extending beyond the prohibition against fighting them, yet I wish your opinion upon it based both upon the general law and our cartel. I wish to avoid violations of law and bad faith. Answer as quickly

as possible, as the thing if done at all should be done at once. A. Lincoln, President.

Steamer Baltimore, off Aquia Creek,
Virginia, November 27, 1862.

Major-General Halleck.

Sir: I have just had a long conference with General Burnside. He believes that General Lee's whole army, or nearly the whole of it, is in front of him, at and near Fredericksburg. General Burnside says he could take into battle now any day about 110,000 men; that his army is in good spirit, good condition, good morale, and that in all respects he is satisfied with officers and men; that he does not want more men with him, because he could not handle them to advantage; that he thinks he can cross the river in face of the enemy and drive him away; but that, to use his own expression, it is somewhat risky. I wish the case to stand more favorably than this in two respects: First, I wish his crossing of the river to be nearly free from risk; and, secondly, I wish the enemy to be prevented from falling back, accumulating strength as he goes, into his intrenchments at Richmond. I therefore propose that General Burnside shall not move immediately; that we accumulate a force on the south bank of the Rappahannock—at, say, Port Royal—under protection of one or two gunboats, as nearly up to 25,000 strong as we can; at the same time another force of about the same strength as high up the Pamunkey as can be protected by gunboats. These being ready, let all three forces move simultaneously: General Burnside's force in its attempt to cross the river, the Rappahannock force moving directly up the

south side of the river to his assistance, and ready, if found admissible, to deflect off to the turnpike bridge over the Mattapony in the direction of Richmond; the Pamunkey force to move as rapidly as possible up the north side of the Pamunkey, holding all the bridges, and especially the turnpike bridge immediately north of Hanover Court House; hurry north and seize and hold the Mattapony bridge before mentioned, and also, if possible, press higher up the streams and destroy the railroad bridges. Then if General Burnside succeeds in driving the enemy from Fredericksburg, he (the enemy) no longer has the road to Richmond, but we have it, and can march into the city. Or, possibly, having forced the enemy from his line, we could move upon and destroy his army. General Burnside's main army would have the same line of supply and retreat as he has now provided. The Rappahannock force would have that river for supply, and gunboats to fall back upon; and the Pamunkey force would have that river for supply, and a line between the two rivers—Pamunkey and Mattapony—along which to fall back upon its gunboats. I think the plan promises the best results, with the least hazard, of any now conceivable.

Note.—The above plan proposed by me was rejected by General Halleck and General Burnside on the ground that we could not raise and put in position the Pamunkey force without too much waste of time. A. L.

Executive Mansion, January 1, 1863.

Major-General Halleck.

My dear Sir: General Burnside wishes to cross the Rappahannock with his army, but his grand division commanders all oppose the movement. If in such a difficulty as this you do not help, you fail me precisely in the point for which I sought your assistance. You know what General Burnside's plan is, and it is my wish that you go with him to the ground, examine it as far as practicable, confer with the officers, getting their judgment and ascertaining their temper—in a word, gather all the elements for forming a judgment of your own, and then tell General Burnside that you do approve or that you do not approve his plan. Your military skill is useless to me if you will not do this.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Indorsement.*]

January 1, 1863.

Withdrawn, because considered harsh by General Halleck. A. Lincoln.

Headquarters of the Army,

January 1, 1863.

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War,
Washington, D. C.

Sir: From my recent interview with the President and yourself, and from the President's letter of this morning, which you delivered to me at your reception, I am led to believe that there is a very important difference of opinion in regard to my relations toward generals commanding armies in the field, and that I cannot perform the duties of my present office satisfactorily at the same time to the President and to my-

self. I therefore respectfully request that I may be relieved from further duties as general-in-chief.[1]

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

H. W. Halleck.

See letter to Ambrose E. Burnside of January 5, 1863.

Executive Mansion, January 7, 1863.

Major-General Halleck.

My dear Sir: What think you of forming a reserve cavalry corps of, say, 6,000, for the Army of the Potomac? Might not such a corps be constituted from the cavalry of Sigel's and Slocum's corps with scraps we could pick up here and there? Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Soldiers' Home,

Washington, July 6, 1863. 7 p. m.

Major-General Halleck.

I left the telegraph office a good deal dissatisfied. You know I did not like the phrase—in Orders, No. 68,[2] I believe—"Drive the invaders from our soil." Since that, I see a despatch from General French, saying the enemy is crossing his wounded over the river in flats, without saying why he does not stop it, or even intimating a thought that it ought to be stopped. Still later, another despatch from General Pleasonton, by direction of General Meade, to General French, stating that the main army is halted because it is believed the rebels are concentrating "on the road toward Hagerstown, beyond Fairfield," and is not to move until it is ascertained

[1] This application was withdrawn upon the withdrawal of the President's letter.

[2] Issued by Meade on July 4, after his defeat of Lee at Gettysburg, Pa.

that the rebels intend to evacuate Cumberland Valley.

These things all appear to me to be connected with a purpose to cover Baltimore and Washington, and to get the enemy across the river again without a further collision, and they do not appear connected with a purpose to prevent his crossing and to destroy him. I do fear the former purpose is acted upon and the latter is rejected.

If you are satisfied the latter purpose is entertained, and is judiciously pursued, I am content. If you are not so satisfied, please look to it.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, July 29, 1863.

Major-General Halleck.

Seeing General Meade's despatch of yesterday to yourself causes me to fear that he supposes the Government here is demanding of him to bring on a general engagement with Lee as soon as possible. I am claiming no such thing of him. In fact, my judgment is against it; which judgment, of course, I will yield if yours and his are the contrary. If he could not safely engage Lee at Williamsport, it seems absurd to suppose he can safely engage him now when he has scarcely more than two thirds of the force he had at Williamsport, while it must be that Lee has been reinforced. True, I desired General Meade to pursue Lee across the Potomac, hoping, as has proved true, that he would thereby clear the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and get some advantages by harassing him on his retreat. These being past, I am unwilling he should now get into a general engagement on

the impression that we here are pressing him, and I shall be glad for you to so inform him, unless your own judgment is against it.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Note.*]

August 31, 1863.

It is not improbable that retaliation for the recent great outrage at Lawrence, in Kansas,[1] may extend to indiscriminate slaughter on the Missouri border, unless averted by very judicious action. I shall be obliged if the general-in-chief can make any suggestions to General Schofield upon the subject. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, September 15, 1863.

Major-General Halleck.

If I did not misunderstand General Meade's last despatch, he posts you on facts as well as he can, and desires your views and those of the Government as to what he shall do. My opinion is that he should move upon Lee at once in manner of general attack, leaving to developments whether he will make it a real attack. I think this would develop Lee's real condition and purposes better than the cavalry alone can do. Of course my opinion is not to control you and General Meade. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, September 19, 1863.

Major-General Halleck.

By General Meade's despatch to you of yesterday it appears that he desires your views and those of the Government as to whether he shall advance upon the enemy. I am not prepared to

[1] Quantrell's massacre of August 21, 1863.

order, or even advise, an advance in this case, wherein I know so little of particulars, and wherein he, in the field, thinks the risk is so great, and the promise of advantage so small.

And yet the case presents matter for very serious consideration in another aspect. These two armies confront each other across a small river, substantially midway between the two capitals, each defending its own capital, and menacing the other. General Meade estimates the enemy's infantry in front of him at not less than 40,000. Suppose we add fifty per cent. to this for cavalry, artillery, and extra-duty men stretching as far as Richmond, making the whole force of the enemy 60,000.

General Meade, as shown by the returns, has with him, and between him and Washington, of the same classes of well men, over 90,000. Neither can bring the whole of his men into a battle; but each can bring as large a percentage in as the other. For a battle, then, General Meade has three men to General Lee's two. Yet, it having been determined that choosing ground and standing on the defensive gives so great advantage that the three cannot safely attack the two, the three are left simply standing on the defensive also.

If the enemy's 60,000 are sufficient to keep our 90,000 away from Richmond, why, by the same rule, may not 40,000 of ours keep their 60,000 away from Washington, leaving us 50,000 to put to some other use? Having practically come to the mere defensive, it seems to be no economy at all to employ twice as many men for that object as are needed. With no object, certainly, to mislead myself, I can perceive no

fault in this statement, unless we admit we are not the equal of the enemy, man for man. I hope you will consider it.

To avoid misunderstanding, let me say that to attempt to fight the enemy slowly back into his intrenchments at Richmond, and then to capture him, is an idea I have been trying to repudiate for quite a year.

My judgment is so clear against it that I would scarcely allow the attempt to be made if the general in command should desire to make it. My last attempt upon Richmond was to get McClellan, when he was nearer there than the enemy was, to run in ahead of him.[1] Since then I have constantly desired the Army of the Potomac to make Lee's army, and not Richmond, its objective point. If our army cannot fall upon the enemy and hurt him where he is, it is plain to me it can gain nothing by attempting to follow him over a succession of intrenched lines into a fortified city.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, September 21, 1863.
Major-General Halleck.

I think it very important for General Rosecrans to hold his position at or about Chattanooga, because if held from that place to Cleveland, both inclusive, it keeps all Tennessee clear of the enemy, and also breaks one of his most important railroad lines. To prevent these consequences is so vital to his cause that he cannot give up the effort to dislodge us from the position, thus bringing him to us and saving us the labor, expense, and hazard of going farther to

[1] See letter to George B. McClellan of October 13, 1862.

find him, and also giving us the advantage of choosing our own ground and preparing it to fight him upon. The details must, of course, be left to General Rosecrans, while we must furnish him the means to the utmost of our ability. If you concur, I think he would better be informed that we are not pushing him beyond this position; and that, in fact, our judgment is rather against his going beyond it. If he can only maintain this position, without more, this rebellion can only eke out a short and feeble existence, as an animal sometimes may with a thorn in its vitals. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, October 16, 1863.

Major-General Halleck.

I do not believe Lee can have over 60,000 effective men.

Longstreet's corps would not be sent away to bring an equal force back upon the same road; and there is no other direction for them to have come from.

Doubtless, in making the present movement, Lee gathered in all available scraps, and added them to Hill's and Ewell's corps; but that is all, and he made the movement in the belief that four corps had left General Meade; and General Meade's apparently avoiding a collision with him has confirmed him in that belief. If General Meade can now attack him on a field no worse than equal for us, and will do so with all the skill and courage which he, his officers, and men possess, the honor will be his if he succeeds, and the blame may be mine if he fails.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, October 24, 1863.

Major-General Halleck.

Taking all our information together, I think it probable that Ewell's corps has started for East Tennessee by way of Abingdon, marching last Monday, say, from Meade's front directly to the railroad at Charlottesville.

First, the object of Lee's recent movement against Meade; his destruction of the Alexandria and Orange Railroad, and subsequent withdrawal, without more motive, not otherwise apparent, would be explained by this hypothesis.

Secondly, the direct statement of Sharpe's men that Ewell has gone to Tennessee.

Thirdly, the Irishman's statement that he has not gone through Richmond and his further statement of an appeal made to the people at Richmond to go and protect their salt, which could only refer to the works near Abingdon.

Fourthly, Graham's statement from Martinsburg that Imboden is in retreat for Harrisonburg. This last matches with the idea that Lee has retained his cavalry, sending Imboden and perhaps other scraps to join Ewell. Upon this probability what is to be done?

If you have a plan matured, I have nothing to say. If you have not, then I suggest that, with all possible expedition, the Army of the Potomac get ready to attack Lee, and that in the mean time a raid shall, at all hazards, break the railroad at or near Lynchburg.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, January 28, 1864.

Major-General Halleck.

Some citizens of Missouri, vicinity of Kansas City, are apprehensive that there is special danger of renewed troubles in that neighborhood, and thence on the route toward New Mexico. I am not impressed that the danger is very great or imminent, but I will thank you to give Generals Rosecrans and Curtis, respectively, such orders as may turn their attention thereto and prevent as far as possible the apprehended disturbance. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Washington City, July 27, 1864.

Major-General Halleck.

General: Lieutenant-General Grant having signified that, owing to the difficulties and delay of communication between his headquarters and Washington, it is necessary that in the present emergency military orders must be issued directly from Washington, the President directs me to instruct you that all the military operations for the defense of the Middle Department, the Department of the Susquehanna, the Department of Washington, and the Department of West Virginia, and all the forces in those departments, are placed under your general command, and that you will be expected to take all military measures necessary for defense against any attack of the enemy and for his capture and destruction. You will issue from time to time such orders to the commanders of the respective departments and to the military authorities therein as may be proper.

Your obedient servant,

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

George B. McClellan.[1]

See letter to Winfield Scott of November 1, 1861.

Executive Mansion, December 6, 1861.

Major-General McClellan.

My dear Sir: Captain Francis G. Young, of the California regiment (Colonel Baker's), is in some difficulty—I do not precisely understand what. I believe you know I was unfavorably impressed toward him because of apparently contradictory accounts he gave me of some matters at the battle of Ball's Bluff. At length he has brought me the paper which accompanies this, showing, I think, that he is entitled to respectful consideration. As you see, it is signed by several senators and representatives as well as other well-known and respectable gentlemen. I attach considerable consequence to the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Shaler, late Major Shaler, of the New York Seventh. These things, and his late connection with Colonel Baker, induce me to ask you if, consistently with the public service, the past, whatever it is, cannot be waived, and he placed in service and given another chance?

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[1] McClellan was considered the leading military engineer of the country. At West Point he led his class in mathematics, and he served with credit in the only United States corps of engineers in the Mexican War. He visited Europe in 1855 to report on foreign army organization and the Crimean War. His report was published in 1861 as a book entitled *The Armies of Europe*, and brought him great praise. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was a railroad president. On April 23, 1861, he was appointed major-general of Ohio volunteers. He invaded West Virginia and captured it for the Union. For his success he was called to Washington to organize the Army of the Potomac, of which he was made commander August 20, 1861.

Washington, December 10, 1861.

Your Excellency: I inclose the paper you left with me, filled as requested.[1] In arriving at the numbers given, I have left the minimum number in garrison and observation.

Information received recently leads me to believe that the enemy could meet us in front with equal forces nearly, and I have now my mind actively turned toward another plan of campaign that I do not think at all anticipated by the enemy nor by many of our own people.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
George B. McClellan, Major-General.

[*Inclosure.*]

If it were determined to make a forward movement of the Army of the Potomac without awaiting further increase of numbers or better drill and discipline, how long would it require to actually get in motion?

If bridge trains ready by December 15, *probably* 25*th.*

After leaving all that would be necessary, how many troops could join the movement from southwest of the river?

Seventy-one thousand.

How many from northeast of it?

Thirty-three thousand.

Suppose, then, that of those southwest of the river fifty thousand move forward and menace the enemy at Centreville; the remainder of the movable force on that side move rapidly to the crossing of the Occoquan by the road from Alexandria to Richmond, there to be joined by the whole movable force from northeast of the river, having landed from the Potomac, just

[1] McClellan's notes are written in pencil. They are here printed in italics.

below the mouth of the Occoquan, moved by land up the south side of that stream to the crossing point named, then the whole move together by the road thence to Brentsville and beyond to the railroad just south of its crossing of Broad Run, a strong detachment of cavalry having gone rapidly ahead to destroy the railroad bridges south and north of the point.

If the crossing of the Occoquan by those from above be resisted, those landing from the Potomac below to take the resisting force of the enemy in rear; or, if the landing from the Potomac be resisted, those crossing the Occoquan from above to take that resisting force in the rear. Both points will probably not be successfully resisted at the same time.

The force in front of Centreville, if pressed too hardly, should fight back slowly into the intrenchments behind them.

Armed vessels and transportation should remain at the Potomac landing to cover a possible retreat.

Executive Mansion, February 3, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

My dear Sir: You and I have distinct and different plans for a movement of the Army of the Potomac—yours to be down the Chesapeake, up the Rappahannock to Urbana, and across land to the terminus of the railroad on the York River; mine to move directly to a point on the railroad southwest of Manassas.

If you will give me satisfactory answers to the following questions, I shall gladly yield my plan to yours.

First. Does not your plan involve a greatly

larger expenditure of time and money than mine?

Second. Wherein is a victory more certain by your plan than mine?

Third. Wherein is a victory more valuable by your plan than mine?

Fourth. In fact, would it not be less valuable in this, that it would break no great line of the enemy's communications, while mine would?

Fifth. In case of disaster, would not a retreat be more difficult by your plan than mine?

Yours truly, Abraham Lincoln.

[*Memorandum.*]

First. Suppose the enemy should attack us in force before we reach the Occoquan, what?

Second. Suppose the enemy in force shall dispute the crossing of the Occoquan, what? In view of this, might it not be safest for us to cross the Occoquan at Colchester, rather than at the village of Occoquan? This would cost the enemy two miles more of travel to meet us, but would, on the contrary, leave us two miles farther from our ultimate destination.

Third. Suppose we reach Maple Valley without an attack, will we not be attacked there in force by the enemy marching by the several roads from Manassas; and if so, what?

Executive Mansion, March 31, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

My dear Sir: This morning I felt constrained to order Blenker's division to Frémont, and I write this to assure you I did so with great pain, understanding that you would wish it otherwise.

If you could know the full pressure of the case, I am confident that you would justify it, even beyond a mere acknowledgment that the commander-in-chief may order what he pleases.

Yours very truly, Abraham Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, April 6, 1862. 8 p. m.

General G. B. McClellan.

Yours of 11 a. m. to-day received. Secretary of War informs me that the forwarding of transportation, ammunition, and Woodbury's brigade, under your orders, is not, and will not be, interfered with. You now have over one hundred thousand troops with you, independent of General Wool's command. I think you better break the enemy's line from Yorktown to Warwick River at once. This will probably use time as advantageously as you can.

A. Lincoln, President.

Washington, April 9, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

My dear Sir: Your despatches, complaining that you are not properly sustained, while they do not offend me, do pain me very much.

Blenker's division was withdrawn from you before you left here, and you knew the pressure under which I did it, and, as I thought, acquiesced in it—certainly not without reluctance.

After you left I ascertained that less than 20,000 unorganized men, without a single field-battery, were all you designed to be left for the defense of Washington and Manassas Junction, and part of this even was to go to General

Hooker's old position; General Banks's corps, once designed for Manassas Junction, was divided and tied up on the line of Winchester and Strasburg, and could not leave it without again exposing the upper Potomac and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. This presented (or would present, when McDowell and Sumner [1] should be gone) a great temptation to the enemy to turn back from the Rappahannock and sack Washington. My explicit order that Washington should, by the judgment of all the commanders of corps, be left entirely secure, had been neglected. It was precisely this that drove me to detain McDowell.

I do not forget that I was satisfied with your arrangements to leave Banks at Manassas Junction; but when that arrangement was broken up and nothing was substituted for it, of course I was not satisfied. I was constrained to substitute something for it myself.

And now allow me to ask, do you really think I should permit the line from Richmond *via* Manassas Junction to this city to be entirely open, except what resistance could be presented by less than 20,000 unorganized troops? This is a question which the country will not allow me to evade.

There is a curious mystery about the number of the troops now with you. When I telegraphed you on the 6th, saying you had over 100,000 with you, I had just obtained from the Secretary of War a statement, taken as he said from your own returns, making 108,000 then with you and *en route* to you. You now say you will have but 85,000 when all *en route* to you

[1] General Edwin V. Sumner.

shall have reached you. How can this discrepancy of 23,000 be accounted for?

As to General Wool's command, I understand it is doing for you precisely what a like number of your own would have to do if that command was away. I suppose the whole force which has gone forward to you is with you by this time; and if so, I think it is the precise time for you to strike a blow. By delay the enemy will relatively gain upon you—that is, he will gain faster by fortifications and reinforcements than you can by reinforcements alone.

And once more let me tell you it is indispensable to you that you strike a blow. I am powerless to help this. You will do me the justice to remember I always insisted that going down the bay in search of a field, instead of fighting at or near Manassas, was only shifting and not surmounting a difficulty; that we would find the same enemy and the same or equal intrenchments at either place. The country will not fail to note—is noting now—that the present hesitation to move upon an intrenched enemy is but the story of Manassas repeated.

I beg to assure you that I have never written you or spoken to you in greater kindness of feeling than now, nor with a fuller purpose to sustain you, so far as in my most anxious judgment I consistently can; but you must act.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, April 21, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

Your despatch of the 19th was received that day. Fredericksburg is evacuated and the bridges

destroyed by the enemy, and a small part of McDowell's command occupies this side of the Rappahannock, opposite the town. He purposes moving his whole force to that point.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, May 1, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

Your call for Parrott guns [1] from Washington alarms me, chiefly because it argues indefinite procrastination. Is anything to be done?

A. Lincoln.

Fort Monroe, Virginia, May 9, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

My dear Sir: I have just assisted the Secretary of War in framing part of a despatch to you relating to army corps, which despatch of course will have reached you long before this will.

I wish to say a few words to you privately on this subject. I ordered the army corps organization not only on the unanimous opinion of the twelve generals whom you had selected and assigned as generals of division, but also on the unanimous opinion of every military man I could get an opinion from (and every modern military book), yourself only excepted. Of course I did not on my own judgment pretend to understand the subject. I now think it indispensable for you to know how your struggle against it is received in quarters which we cannot entirely disregard. It is looked upon as merely an effort to pamper

[1] Rifled cannon of long range and great endurance, invented by Robert P. Parrott, superintendent of the West Point cannon foundry at Cold Spring, N. Y. He refused to enrich himself from the Government by his invention.

one or two pets and to persecute and degrade their supposed rivals. I have had no word from Sumner, Heintzelman, or Keyes. The commanders of these corps are of course the three highest officers with you, but I am constantly told that you have no consultation or communication with them; that you consult and communicate with nobody but General Fitz-John Porter and perhaps General Franklin. I do not say these complaints are true or just, but at all events it is proper you should know of their existence.[1] Do the commanders of corps disobey your orders in anything?

When you relieved General Hamilton of his command the other day, you thereby lost the confidence of at least one of your best friends in the Senate. And here let me say, not as applicable to you personally, that senators and representatives speak of me in their places as they please without question, and that officers of the army must cease addressing insulting letters to them for taking no greater liberty with them.

But to return. Are you strong enough—are you strong enough, even with my help—to set your foot upon the necks of Sumner, Heintzelman, and Keyes all at once? This is a practical and very serious question for you.

The success of your army and the cause of the country are the same, and of course I only desire the good of the cause.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[1] This charge of favoritism soon received substantiation by McClellan dividing the army into two provisional army corps commanded one by Porter and one by Franklin.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington City, May 15, 1862.

Major-General McClellan,

Cumberland, Virginia.

Your long despatch of yesterday is just received. I will answer more fully soon. Will say now that all your despatches to the Secretary of War have been promptly shown to me. Have done and shall do all I could and can to sustain you. Hoped that the opening of James River and putting Wool and Burnside in communication, with an open road to Richmond, or to you, had effected something in that direction. I am still unwilling to take all our force off the direct line between Richmond and here.

A. Lincoln.

Washington, May 18, 1862. 2 p. m.

Major-General George B. McClellan, Commanding Army of the Potomac, before Richmond.

General: Your despatch to the President, asking reinforcements, has been received and carefully considered.

The President is not willing to uncover the capital entirely; and it is believed that even if this were prudent, it would require more time to effect a junction between your army and that of the Rappahannock by the way of the Potomac and York Rivers than by a land march. In order, therefore, to increase the strength of the attack upon Richmond at the earliest moment, General McDowell has been ordered to march upon that city by the shortest route. He is ordered, keeping himself always in position to save the capital from all possible attack, so to operate as to put

his left wing in communication with your right wing, and you are instructed to coöperate so as to establish this communication as soon as possible by extending your right wing to the north of Richmond.

It is believed that this communication can be safely established either north or south of the Pamunkey River.

In any event, you will be able to prevent the main body of the enemy's forces from leaving Richmond and falling in overwhelming force upon General McDowell. He will move with between thirty-five and forty thousand men.

A copy of the instructions to General McDowell are with this. The specific task assigned to his command has been to provide against any danger to the capital of the nation.

At your earnest call for reinforcements, he is sent forward to coöperate in the reduction of Richmond, but charged, in attempting this, not to uncover the city of Washington; and you will give no order, either before or after your junction, which can put him out of position to cover this city. You and he will communicate with each other by telegraph or otherwise as frequently as may be necessary for efficient cooperation. When General McDowell is in position on your right, his supplies must be drawn from West Point,[1] and you will instruct your staff-officers to be prepared to supply him by that route.

The President desires that General McDowell retain the command of the Department of the

[1] In King William Co., Va., at the head of York River, an arm of Chesapeake Bay.

Rappahannock and of the forces with which he moves forward.

By order of the President:

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 21, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

I have just been waited on by a large committee who present a petition signed by twenty-three senators and eighty-four representatives asking me to restore General Hamilton to his division. I wish to do this, and yet I do not wish to be understood as rebuking you. Please answer at once.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington City, May 22, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

Your long despatch of yesterday just received. You will have just such control of General McDowell and his forces as you therein indicate. McDowell can reach you by land sooner than he could get aboard of boats, if the boats were ready at Fredericksburg, unless his march shall be resisted, in which case the force resisting him will certainly not be confronting you at Richmond. By land he can reach you in five days after starting, whereas by water he would not reach you in two weeks, judging by past experience. Franklin's single division did not reach you in ten days after I ordered it.

A. Lincoln, President United States.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 24, 1862.

Major-General George B. McClellan.

I left General McDowell's camp at dark last evening. Shields's command is there, but it is so worn that he cannot move before Monday morning, the 26th. We have so thinned our line to get troops for other places that it was broken yesterday at Front Royal, with a probable loss to us of one regiment infantry, two companies cavalry, putting General Banks in some peril.

The enemy's forces under General Anderson [1] now opposing General McDowell's advance have as their line of supply and retreat the road to Richmond.

If, in conjunction with McDowell's movement against Anderson, you could send a force from your right to cut off the enemy's supplies from Richmond, preserve the railroad bridges across the two forks of the Pamunkey, and intercept the enemy's retreat, you will prevent the army now opposed to you from receiving an accession of numbers of nearly 15,000 men; and if you succeed in saving the bridges you will secure a line of railroad for supplies in addition to the one you now have. Can you not do this almost as well as not while you are building the Chickahominy bridges? McDowell and Shields both say they can, and positively will, move Monday morning. I wish you to move cautiously and safely.

You will have command of McDowell, after he joins you, precisely as you indicated in your long despatch to us of the 21st.

A. Lincoln.

[1] Richard H. Anderson.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 24, 1862. 4 p. m.
Major-General George B. McClellan.

In consequence of General Banks's critical position, I have been compelled to suspend General McDowell's movements to join you. The enemy [1] are making a desperate push upon Harper's Ferry, and we are trying to throw General Frémont's force and part of General McDowell's in their rear. A. Lincoln, President.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 25, 1862. 2 p. m.
Major-General McClellan.

The enemy is moving north in sufficient force to drive General Banks before him—precisely in what force we cannot tell. He is also threatening Leesburg and Geary, on the Manassas Gap Railroad, from both north and south—in precisely what force we cannot tell. I think the movement is a general and concerted one, such as would not be if he was acting upon the purpose of a very desperate defense of Richmond. I think the time is near when you must either attack Richmond or give up the job and come to the defense of Washington. Let me hear from you instantly. A. Lincoln, President.

[*Telegram in Cipher.*]

War Department, May 25, 1862. 8.30 p. m.
Major-General McClellan.

Your despatch received. General Banks was at Strasburg, with about 6,000 men, Shields hav-

[1] Under "Stonewall" Jackson (see Frémont correspondence).

ing been taken from him to swell a column for McDowell to aid you at Richmond, and the rest of his force scattered at various places. On the 23d a rebel force of 7,000 to 10,000 fell upon one regiment and two companies guarding the bridge at Front Royal, destroying it entirely; crossed the Shenandoah, and on the 24th (yesterday) pushed to get north of Banks, on the road to Winchester. Banks ran a race with them, beating them into Winchester yesterday evening. This morning a battle ensued between the two forces, in which Banks was beaten back into full retreat toward Martinsburg, and probably is broken up into a total rout. Geary, on the Manassas Gap Railroad, just now reports that Jackson is now near Front Royal, with 10,000, following up and supporting, as I understand, the force now pursuing Banks; also that another force of 10,000 is near Orleans, following on in the same direction. Stripped bare, as we are here, it will be all we can do to prevent them crossing the Potomac at Harper's Ferry or above. We have about 20,000 of McDowell's force moving back to the vicinity of Front Royal, and General Frémont, who was at Franklin, is moving to Harrisonburg; both these movements intended to get in the enemy's rear.

One more of McDowell's brigades is ordered through here to Harper's Ferry; the rest of his force remains for the present at Fredericksburg. We are sending such regiments and dribs from here and Baltimore as we can spare to Harper's Ferry, supplying their places in some sort by calling in militia from the adjacent States. We also have eighteen cannon on the road to Harper's Ferry, of which arm there is not a sin-

gle one yet at that point. This is now our situation.

If McDowell's force was now beyond our reach, we should be utterly helpless. Apprehension of something like this, and no unwillingness to sustain you, has always been my reason for withholding McDowell's force from you. Please understand this, and do the best you can with the force you have. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 26, 1862. 12.40 p. m.
Major-General McClellan.

We have General Banks's official report. He has saved his army and baggage, and has made a safe retreat to the river, and is probably safe at Williamsport. He reports the attacking force at 15,000. A. Lincoln, President.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 26, 1862.
Major-General George B. McClellan.

Can you not cut the Aquia Creek Railroad? Also, what impression have you as to intrenched works for you to contend with in front of Richmond? Can you get near enough to throw shells into the city? A. Lincoln, President.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 28, 1862.
Major-General McClellan.

What of F. J. Porter's expedition? Please answer. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 28, 1862. 8.40 p. m.
Major-General McClellan.

I am very glad of General F. J. Porter's victory.[1] Still, if it was a total rout of the enemy, I am puzzled to know why the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad was not seized again, as you say you have all the railroads but the Richmond and Fredericksburg. I am puzzled to see how, lacking that, you can have any, except the scrap from Richmond to West Point. The scrap of the Virginia Central from Richmond to Hanover Junction, without more, is simply nothing. That the whole of the enemy is concentrating on Richmond, I think cannot be certainly known to you or me. Saxton, at Harper's Ferry, informs us that large forces, supposed to be Jackson's and Ewell's, forced his advance from Charlestown to-day. General King telegraphs us from Fredericksburg that contrabands give certain information that 15,000 left Hanover Junction Monday morning to reinforce Jackson. I am painfully impressed with the importance of the struggle before you, and shall aid you all I can consistently with my view of due regard to all points. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 29, 1862. 10.30 a. m.
Major-General McClellan.

I think we shall be able within three days to tell you certainly whether any considerable force

[1] On May 27 Porter defeated General Branch. There was no practical result of the victory. Porter marched back to camp.

of the enemy—Jackson or any one else—is moving on to Harper's Ferry or vicinity. Take this expected development into your calculations.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 31, 1862. 10.20 p. m.

Major-General McClellan.

A circle whose circumference shall pass through Harper's Ferry, Front Royal, and Strasburg, and whose center shall be a little northeast of Winchester, almost certainly has within it this morning the forces of Jackson, Ewell, and Edward Johnson. Quite certainly they were within it two days ago. Some part of their forces attacked Harper's Ferry at dark last evening, and are still in sight this morning. Shields, with McDowell's advance, retook Front Royal at 11 a. m. yesterday, with a dozen of our own prisoners taken there a week ago, 150 of the enemy, two locomotives, and eleven cars, some other property and stores, and saved the bridge.

General Frémont, from the direction of Moorefield, promises to be at or near Strasburg at 5 p. m. to-day. General Banks at Williamsport, with his old force and his new force at Harper's Ferry, is directed to coöperate.[1] Shields at Front Royal reports a rumor of still an additional force of the enemy, supposed to be Anderson's, having entered the valley of Virginia. This last may or may not be true. Corinth is certainly in the hands of General Halleck. A. Lincoln.

[1] See Frémont correspondence.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington City, D.C., June 1, 1862. 9.30.
Major-General McClellan.

You are probably engaged with the enemy. I suppose he made the attack. Stand well on your guard, hold all your ground, or yield any only inch by inch and in good order. This morning we merge General Wool's department into yours, giving you command of the whole, and sending General Dix to Fort Monroe and General Wool to Fort McHenry. We also send General Sigel to report to you for duty. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, June 1, 1862. 5 p. m.
Major-General McClellan.

Thanks for what you could and did say in your despatch of noon to-day to the Secretary of War. If the enemy shall not have renewed the attack this afternoon, I think the hardest of your work is done.

Shields's advance came in collision with part of the enemy yesterday evening, six miles from Front Royal, in a direction between Winchester and Strasburg, driving them back, capturing a few prisoners and one rifled cannon. Firing in that direction to-day, heard both from Harper's Ferry and Front Royal, indicates a probability that Frémont has met the enemy.

We have concluded to send General Sigel to Harper's Ferry, so that what I telegraphed you about him this morning is revoked. Dix goes to Fort Monroe to-night. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 3, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

With these continuous rains I am very anxious about the Chickahominy—so close in your rear and crossing your line of communication. Please look to it. A. Lincoln, President.

War Department, June 15, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

My dear Sir: The night between your two late battles of Saturday and Sunday I went earnestly to work to find a way of putting General Wool's force under your control without wounding any one's feelings. But, after all, General Dix was a little hurt at being taken from an independent command and put in a dependent one. I could not help this without giving up the principal object of the move. So soon as you can (which I do not expect is yet), I wish you to give me the benefit of your suggestions as to how an independent command can be given him without detriment.

The Secretary of War has turned over to me your despatch about sending McDowell to you by water, instead of by land. I now fear he cannot get to you either way in time. Shields's division has got so terribly out of shape, out at elbows, and out at toes, that it will require a long time to get it in again. I expect to see McDowell within a day or two, when I will again talk with him about the mode of moving. McCall's division has nearly or quite reached you by now. This, with what you get from General Wool's old command, and the new regiments sent you,

must give you an increase since the late battles of over twenty thousand. Doubtless the battles and other causes have decreased you half as much in the same time; but then the enemy have lost as many in the same way. I believe I would come and see you were it not that I fear my presence might divert you and the army from more important matters.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, June 18, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

Yours of to-day, making it probable that Jackson has been reinforced by about 10,000 from Richmond, is corroborated by a despatch from General King at Fredericksburg, saying a Frenchman, just arrived from Richmond by way of Gordonsville, met 10,000 to 15,000 passing through the latter place to join Jackson.

If this is true, it is as good as a reinforcement to you of an equal force. I could better dispose of things if I could know about what day you can attack Richmond, and would be glad to be informed, if you think you can inform me with safety. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 19, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

Yours of last night just received, and for which I thank you.

If large reinforcements are going from Richmond to Jackson, it proves one of two things; either that they are very strong at Richmond, or do not mean to defend the place desperately.

On reflection, I do not see how reinforcements from Richmond to Jackson could be in Gordonsville, as reported by the Frenchman and your deserters. Have not all been sent to deceive?

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington City, June 20, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

We have this morning sent you a despatch of General Sigel corroborative of the proposition that Jackson is being reinforced from Richmond. This may be reality, and yet may only be contrivance for deception, and to determine which is perplexing. If we knew it was not true, we could send you some more force; but as the case stands we do not think we safely can. Still, we will watch the signs and do so if possible. . . .

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 21, 1862. 6 p. m.

Major-General George B. McClellan.

Your despatch of yesterday (2 p. m.) was received this morning. If it would not divert too much of your time and attention from the army under your immediate command, I would be glad to have your views as to the present state of military affairs throughout the whole country, as you say you would be glad to give them. I would rather it should be by letter than by telegraph, because of the better chance of secrecy. As to the numbers and positions of the troops not under your command in Virginia and elsewhere, even if I could do it with accuracy, which I cannot, I would rather not transmit either by telegraph or letter because of the chances of its

reaching the enemy. I would be very glad to talk with you, but you cannot leave your camp, and I cannot well leave here.

A. Lincoln, President.

Washington, June 26, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

Your three despatches of yesterday in relation to the affair, ending with the statement that you completely succeeded in making your point, are very gratifying.

The latter one of 6.15 p. m., suggesting the probability of your being overwhelmed by 200,000, and talking of where the responsibility will belong, pains me very much. I give you all I can, and act on the presumption that you will do the best you can with what you have, while you continue, ungenerously I think, to assume that I could give you more if I would. I have omitted and shall omit no opportunity to send you reinforcements whenever I possibly can.

A. Lincoln.

P. S. General Pope thinks if you fall back it would be much better toward York River than toward the James. As Pope now has charge of the capital, please confer with him through the telegraph.

[*Telegram.*] [1]

War Department, June 28, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

Save your army, at all events. Will send reinforcements as fast as we can. Of course they cannot reach you to-day, to-morrow, or next

[1] Sent in reply to a despairing despatch of McClellan after Porter's defeat at Gaines's Mill on June 27th.

day. I have not said you were ungenerous for saying you needed reinforcements. I thought you were ungenerous in assuming that I did not send them as fast as I could. I feel any misfortune to you and your army quite as keenly as you feel it yourself. If you have had a drawn battle, or a repulse, it is the price we pay for the enemy not being in Washington. We protected Washington and the enemy concentrated on you. Had we stripped Washington, he would have been upon us before the troops could have gotten to you. Less than a week ago you notified us that reinforcements were leaving Richmond to come in front of us. It is the nature of the case, and neither you nor the Government is to blame. Please tell at once the present condition and aspect of things. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, July 1, 1862. 3.30 p. m.

Major-General George B. McClellan.

It is impossible to reinforce you for your present emergency. If we had a million of men, we could not get them to you in time. We have not the men to send. If you are not strong enough to face the enemy, you must find a place of security, and wait, rest, and repair. Maintain your ground if you can, but save the army at all events, even if you fall back to Fort Monroe. We still have strength enough in the country, and will bring it out. A Lincoln.

War Department, July 2, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

Your despatch of Tuesday morning induces me to hope your army is having some rest. In this hope allow me to reason with you a mo-

ment. When you ask for 50,000 men to be promptly sent you, you surely labor under some gross mistake of fact. Recently you sent papers showing your disposal of forces made last spring for the defense of Washington, and advising a return to that plan. I find it included in and about Washington 75,000 men. Now, please be assured I have not men enough to fill that very plan by 15,000. All of Frémont's in the valley, all of Banks's, all of McDowell's not with you, and all in Washington, taken together, do not exceed, if they reach, 60,000. With Wool and Dix added to those mentioned, I have not, outside of your army, 75,000 men east of the mountains. Thus the idea of sending you 50,000, or any other considerable force, promptly, is simply absurd. If, in your frequent mention of responsibility, you have the impression that I blame you for not doing more than you can, please be relieved of such impression. I only beg that in like manner you will not ask impossibilities of me. If you think you are not strong enough to take Richmond just now, I do not ask you to try just now. Save the army, material and personal, and I will strengthen it for the offensive again as fast as I can. The governors of eighteen States offer me a new levy of 300,000, which I accept. A. Lincoln.

War Department, July 3, 1862.

Major-General George B. McClellan.

Yours of 5.30 yesterday is just received. I am satisfied that yourself, officers, and men have done the best you could. All accounts say better fighting was never done. Ten thousand thanks for it.

On the 28th we sent General Burnside an order to send all the force he could spare to you. We then learned that you had requested him to go to Goldsborough; upon which we said to him our order was intended for your benefit, and we did not wish to be in conflict with your views.

We hope you will have help from him soon. To-day we have ordered General Hunter to send you all he can spare. At last advices General Halleck thinks he cannot send reinforcements without endangering all he has gained.

A. Lincoln, President.

War Department,
Washington City, D. C., July 4, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

I understand your position as stated in your letter and by General Marcy. To reinforce you so as to enable you to resume the offensive within a month, or even six weeks, is impossible. In addition to that arrived and now arriving from the Potomac (about 10,000 men, I suppose, and about 10,000 I hope you will have from Burnside very soon, and about 5,000 from Hunter a little later), I do not see how I can send you another man within a month. Under these circumstances the defensive for the present must be your only care. Save the army—first, where you are, if you can; secondly, by removal, if you must. You, on the ground, must be the judge as to which you will attempt, and of the means for effecting it. I but give it as my opinion that with the aid of the gunboats and the reinforcements mentioned above, you can hold your present position—provided, and so long as, you can keep the James River open be-

low you. If you are not tolerably confident you can keep the James River open, you had better remove as soon as possible. I do not remember that you have expressed any apprehension as to the danger of having your communication cut on the river below you, yet I do not suppose it can have escaped your attention.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

P. S. If at any time you feel able to take the offensive, you are not restrained from doing so.

A. L.

Washington, July 5, 1862. 9 a. m.

Major-General George B. McClellan.

A thousand thanks for the relief your two despatches of 12 and 1 p. m. yesterday gave me. Be assured the heroism and skill of yourself and officers and men is, and forever will be, appreciated.

If you can hold your present position, we shall have the enemy yet. A. Lincoln.

On July 9, 1862, the President had an interview with General McClellan and other officers at McClellan's headquarters at Harrison's Landing, Virginia. In this the President inquired categorically about number of troops, their health, the location, strength, and condition of enemy, possibility of easy withdrawal of Union troops, and their security in present position.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, July 13, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

My dear Sir: I am told that over 160,000 men have gone into your army on the Peninsula. When I was with you the other day we made out 86,500 remaining, leaving 73,500 to be ac-

counted for. I believe 23,500 will cover all the killed, wounded, and missing in all your battles and skirmishes, leaving 50,000 who have left otherwise. Not more than 5,000 of these have died, leaving 45,000 of your army still alive and not with it. I believe half or two thirds of them are fit for duty to-day. Have you any more perfect knowledge of this than I have? If I am right, and you had these men with you, you could go into Richmond in the next three days. How can they be got to you, and how can they be prevented from getting away in such numbers for the future? A. Lincoln.

On August 3, 1862, General McClellan was ordered to move his army to Aquia Creek, an arm of the Potomac in Stafford County, northern Virginia. He was three weeks in doing so. On the 29th and 30th of August Pope was defeated by Longstreet and Jackson in the second battle of Bull Run.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, August 29, 1862. 4.10 p. m.
Major-General McClellan.

Yours of to-day just received. I think your first alternative—to wit, "to concentrate all our available forces to open communication with Pope"—is the right one, but I wish not to control. That I now leave to General Halleck, aided by your counsels. A. Lincoln.

Halleck, in despair over Pope's defeat, called McClellan to Washington for counsel. On September 2d the President placed the defense of Washington in McClellan's hands. In five days McClellan had reorganized the demoralized defense. On September 7th Lee had crossed the Potomac into Maryland, and McClellan set out to meet him.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C.,
September 8, 1862. 5 p. m.

Major-General McClellan, Rockville, Md.

How does it look now? A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
September 11, 1862. 6 p. m.

Major-General McClellan.

This is explanatory. If Porter, Heintzelman, and Sigel were sent you, it would sweep everything from the other side of the river, because the new troops have been distributed among them, as I understand. Porter reports himself 21,000 strong, which can only be by the addition of new troops. He is ordered to-night to join you as quickly as possible. I am for sending you all that can be spared, and I hope others can follow Porter very soon. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington City, D. C.,
September 12, 1862. 5.45 p. m.

Major-General McClellan.

Governor Curtin telegraphs me:

> I have advices that Jackson is crossing the Potomac at Williamsport, and probably the whole rebel army will be drawn from Maryland.

Receiving nothing from Harper's Ferry or Martinsburg to-day, and positive information from Wheeling that the line is cut, corroborates

the idea that the enemy is recrossing the Potomac. Please do not let him get off without being hurt. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, Washington,
September 15, 1862. 2.45 p. m.

Major-General McClellan.

Your despatch of to-day received. God bless you, and all with you. Destroy the rebel army if possible. A. Lincoln.

McClellan defeated Lee at Antietam Creek, Md., on September 17th.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., October 6, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

I am instructed to telegraph you as follows: The President directs that you cross the Potomac and give battle to the enemy, or drive him south. Your army must move now, while the roads are good. If you cross the river between the enemy and Washington, and cover the latter by your operation, you can be reinforced with 30,000 men. If you move up the valley of the Shenandoah, not more than 12,000 or 15,000 can be sent to you. The President advises the interior line between Washington and the enemy, but does not order it. He is very desirous that your army move as soon as possible. You will immediately report what line you adopt, and when you intend to cross the river; also to what point the reinforcements are to be sent. It is necessary that the plan of your operations be positively determined on before orders are given for building bridges and repairing railroads. I am directed to add that the Secretary of War

and the general-in-chief fully concur with the President in these instructions.

H. W. Halleck, General-in-chief.

Executive Mansion, October 13, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

My dear Sir: You remember my speaking to you of what I called your over-cautiousness. Are you not over-cautious when you assume that you cannot do what the enemy is constantly doing? Should you not claim to be at least his equal in prowess, and act upon the claim? As I understand, you telegraphed General Halleck that you cannot subsist your army at Winchester unless the railroad from Harper's Ferry to that point be put in working order. But the enemy does now subsist his army at Winchester, at a distance nearly twice as great from railroad transportation as you would have to do without the railroad last named. He now wagons from Culpeper Court House, which is just about twice as far as you would have to do from Harper's Ferry. He is certainly not more than half as well provided with wagons as you are. I certainly should be pleased for you to have the advantage of the railroad from Harper's Ferry to Winchester, but it wastes all the remainder of autumn to give it to you, and in fact ignores the question of time, which cannot and must not be ignored. Again, one of the standard maxims of war, as you know, is to "operate upon the enemy's communications as much as possible without exposing your own." You seem to act as if this applies against you, but cannot apply in your favor. Change positions with the enemy, and think you not he would break your com-

munications with Richmond within the next twenty-four hours? You dread his going into Pennsylvania; but if he does so in full force, he gives up his communications to you absolutely, and you have nothing to do but to follow and ruin him. If he does so with less than full force, fall upon and beat what is left behind all the easier. Exclusive of the water-line, you are now nearer Richmond than the enemy is by the route that you can and he must take. Why can you not reach there before him, unless you admit that he is more than your equal on a march? His route is the arc of a circle, while yours is the chord. The roads are as good on yours as on his. You know I desired, but did not order, you to cross the Potomac below, instead of above, the Shenandoah and Blue Ridge. My idea was that this would at once menace the enemy's communications, which I would seize if he would permit.

If he should move northward, I would follow him closely, holding his communications. If he should prevent our seizing his communications and move toward Richmond, I would press closely to him, fight him if a favorable opportunity should present, and at least try to beat him to Richmond on the inside track. I say "try"; if we never try, we shall never succeed. If he makes a stand at Winchester, moving neither north nor south, I would fight him there, on the idea that if we cannot beat him when he bears the wastage of coming to us, we never can when we bear the wastage of going to him. This proposition is a simple truth, and is too important to be lost sight of for a moment. In coming to us he tenders us an advantage which we

should not waive. We should not so operate as to merely drive him away. As we must beat him somewhere or fail finally, we can do it, if at all, easier nearer to us than far away. If we cannot beat the enemy where he now is, we never can, he again being within the intrenchments of Richmond.

Recurring to the idea of going to Richmond on the inside track, the facility of supplying from the side away from the enemy is remarkable, as it were, by the different spokes of a wheel extending from the hub toward the rim, and this whether you move directly by the chord or on the inside arc, hugging the Blue Ridge more closely. The chord-line, as you see, carries you by Aldie, Hay Market, and Fredericksburg; and you see how turnpikes, railroads, and finally the Potomac, by Aquia Creek, meet you at all points from Washington; the same, only the lines lengthened a little, if you press closer to the Blue Ridge part of the way.

The gaps through the Blue Ridge I understand to be about the following distances from Harper's Ferry, to wit: Vestal's, 5 miles; Gregory's, 13; Snicker's, 18; Ashby's, 28; Manassas, 38; Chester, 45; and Thornton's, 53. I should think it preferable to take the route nearest the enemy, disabling him to make an important move without your knowledge, and compelling him to keep his forces together for dread of you. The gaps would enable you to attack if you should wish. For a great part of the way you would be practically between the enemy and both Washington and Richmond, enabling us to spare you the greatest number of troops from here. When at length running for Richmond ahead of

him enables him to move this way, if he does so, turn and attack him in rear. But I think he should be engaged long before such point is reached. It is all easy if our troops march as well as the enemy, and it is unmanly to say they cannot do it. This letter is in no sense an order.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, October 21, 1862. 3 p. m.

Major-General George B. McClellan.

Your telegram of 12 m. has been submitted to the President. He directs me to say that he has no change to make in his order of the 6th instant. If you have not been and are not now in condition to obey it, you will be able to show such want of ability. The President does not expect impossibilities, but he is very anxious that all this good weather should not be wasted in inactivity. Telegraph when you will move, and on what lines you propose to march.

H. W. Halleck, General-in-chief.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, October 24, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

I have just read your despatch about sore-tongued and fatigued horses. Will you pardon me for asking what the horses of your army have done since the battle of Antietam that fatigues anything? A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
October 26, 1862. 11.30 a. m.

Major-General McClellan.

Yours, in reply to mine about horses, received. Of course you know the facts better than I; still, two considerations remain. Stuart's cavalry outmarched ours, having certainly done more marked service on the Peninsula and everywhere since. Secondly, will not a movement of our army be a relief to the cavalry, compelling the enemy to concentrate instead of foraging in squads everywhere? But I am so rejoiced to learn from your despatch to General Halleck that you begin crossing the river this morning.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
October 27, 1862. 12.10 p. m.

Major-General McClellan.

Yours of yesterday received. Most certainly I intend no injustice to any, and if I have done any I deeply regret it. To be told, after more than five weeks' total inaction of the army, and during which period we have sent to the army every fresh horse we possibly could, amounting in the whole to 7,918, that the cavalry horses were too much fatigued to move, presents a very cheerless, almost hopeless, prospect for the future, and it may have forced something of impatience in my despatch. If not recruited and rested then, when could they ever be? I suppose the river is rising, and I am glad to believe you are crossing.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
October 27, 1862. 3.25 p. m.

Major-General McClellan.

Your despatch of 3 p. m. to-day, in regard to filling up old regiments with drafted men, is received, and the request therein shall be complied with as far as practicable.

And now I ask a distinct answer to the question, Is it your purpose not to go into action again until the men now being drafted in the States are incorporated into the old regiments?

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, October 29, 1862.

Major-General McClellan.

Your despatches of night before last, yesterday, and last night all received. I am much pleased with the movement of the army. When you get entirely across the river let me know. What do you know of the enemy?

A. Lincoln.

[*Order.*]

Executive Mansion, November 5, 1862.

By direction of the President, it is ordered that Major-General McClellan be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and that Major-General Burnside take the command of that army. Also that Major-General Hunter take command of the corps in said army which is now commanded by General Burnside. That Major-General Fitz-John Porter be relieved from

command of the corps he now commands in said army, and that Major-General Hooker take command of said corps.

The general-in-chief is authorized, in [*his*] discretion, to issue an order substantially as the above, forthwith, or so soon as he may deem proper. A. Lincoln.

DAVID HUNTER.

Executive Mansion, December 31, 1861.

Major-General Hunter.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 23d is received, and I am constrained to say it is difficult to answer so ugly a letter in good temper. I am, as you intimate, losing much of the great confidence I placed in you, not from any act or omission of yours touching the public service, up to the time you were sent to Leavenworth, but from the flood of grumbling despatches and letters I have seen from you since. I knew you were being ordered to Leavenworth at the time it was done; and I aver that with as tender a regard for your honor and your sensibilities as I had for my own, it never occurred to me that you were being "humiliated, insulted and disgraced"; nor have I, up to this day, heard an intimation that you have been wronged, coming from any one but yourself— No one has blamed you for the retrograde movement from Springfield, nor for the information you gave General Cameron; and this you could readily understand, if it were not for your unwarranted assumption that the ordering you to Leavenworth must necessarily have been done as a *punishment* for some *fault*. I thought then, and think yet, the position assigned to you is as responsible, and as honorable, as that as-

signed to Buell—I know that General McClellan expected more important results from it. My impression is that at the time you were assigned to the new Western Department, it had not been determined to replace General Sherman in Kentucky; but of this I am not certain, because the idea that a command in Kentucky was very desirable, and one in the farther West undesirable, had never occurred to me. You constantly speak of being placed in command of only 3,000. Now tell me, is this not mere impatience? Have you not known all the while that you are to command four or five times that many?

I have been, and am sincerely your friend; and if, as such, I dare to make a suggestion, I would say you are adopting the best possible way to ruin yourself. "Act well your part, there all the honor lies." He who does *something* at the head of one regiment, will eclipse him who does *nothing* at the head of a hundred.

Your friend, as ever, A. Lincoln.

On the outside of the envelope in which this letter was found, General Hunter had written:

"The President's reply to my 'ugly letter.' This lay on his table a month after it was written, and when finally sent was by a special conveyance, with the direction that it was only to be given to me when I was in a good humor."

In March, 1862, General Hunter was transferred to the Department of the South with headquarters at Port Royal, S. C. On April 12th he issued an order freeing the slaves of enemies of the United States. This coming to the attention of the President, on May 17th he indorsed on the order:

May 17, 1862.

No commanding general shall do such a thing upon my responsibility without consulting me.

A. Lincoln.

See letter to George B. McClellan of November 5, 1862.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, April 1, 1863.

Major-General Hunter.

My dear Sir: I am glad to see the accounts of your colored force at Jacksonville, Florida. I see the enemy are driving at them fiercely, as is to be expected. It is important to the enemy that such a force shall not take shape and grow and thrive in the South, and in precisely the same proportion it is important to us that it shall. Hence the utmost caution and vigilance is necessary on our part. The enemy will make extra efforts to destroy them, and we should do the same to preserve and increase them.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, April 14, 1863.

General Hunter and Admiral Dupont.

This is intended to clear up an apparent inconsistency between the recent order to continue operations before Charleston and the former one to remove to another point in a certain contingency. No censure upon you, or either of you, is intended. We still hope that by cordial and judicious coöperation you can take the batteries on Morris Island and Sullivan's Island and Fort Sumter. But whether you can or not, we wish the demonstration kept up for a time, for a collateral and very important object. We wish the

attempt to be a real one, though not a desperate one, if it affords any considerable chance of success. But if prosecuted as a demonstration only, this must not become public, or the whole effect will be lost. Once again before Charleston, do not leave till further orders from here. Of course this is not intended to force you to leave unduly exposed Hilton Head or other near points in your charge. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

P. S.—Whoever receives this first, please send a copy to the other immediately A. L.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, April 30, 1863.

Major-General Hunter.

My dear Sir: This morning I was presented an order of yours, dismissing from the service, subject to my approval, a Captain Schaadt, of one of the Pennsylvania regiments. Disloyalty, without any statement of the evidence supposed to have proved it, is assigned as the cause of the dismissal; and he represents at home—as I am told—that the sole evidence was his refusal to sanction a resolution (indorsing the Emancipation Proclamation, I believe); and our friends assure me that this statement is doing the Union cause great harm in his neighborhood and county, especially as he is a man of character, did good service in raising troops for us last fall, and still declares for the Union and his wish to fight for it.

On this state of the case I wrote a special indorsement on the order, which I suppose he will present to you; and I write this merely to assure you that no censure is intended upon you; but

that it is hoped that you will inquire into the case more minutely, and that if there be no evidence but his refusal to sanction the resolution, you will restore him.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, June 30, 1863.

Major-General Hunter.

My dear General: I have just received your letter of the 25th of June.

I assure you, and you may feel authorized in stating, that the recent change of commanders in the Department of the South was made for no reasons which convey any imputation upon your known energy, efficiency, and patriotism; but for causes which seemed sufficient, while they were in no degree incompatible with the respect and esteem in which I have always held you as a man and an officer.

I cannot, by giving my consent to a publication of whose details I know nothing, assume the responsibility of whatever you may write. In this matter your own sense of military propriety must be your guide, and the regulations of the service your rule of conduct.

I am very truly your friend, A. Lincoln.

In May, 1864, General Hunter was placed in command of the Department of West Virginia.

[*Telegram.*]

[Washington], July 17, 1864.

Major-General Hunter,

Harper's Ferry, West Virginia.

Yours of this morning received. You misconceive. The order you complain of was only

nominally mine, and was framed by those who really made it with no thought of making you a scapegoat. It seemed to be General Grant's wish that the forces under General Wright and those under you should join and drive at the enemy under General Wright. Wright had the larger part of the force, but you had the rank. It was thought that you would prefer Crook's commanding your part to your serving in person under Wright. That is all of it. General Grant wishes you to remain in command of the department, and I do not wish to order otherwise.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram in Cipher.*]

War Department, July 23, 1864.

Major-General Hunter,

Harper's Ferry, West Virginia.

Are you able to take care of the enemy, when he turns back upon you, as he probably will on finding that Wright has left? A. Lincoln.

Don Carlos Buell.[1]

[*Telegram.*]

Washington City, January 1, 1862.

Brigadier-General Buell, Louisville.

General McClellan should not yet be disturbed with business. I think you better get in concert with General Halleck at once. I write you to-night. I also telegraph and write Halleck.

A. Lincoln.

[1] In November, 1861, General Buell succeeded General W. T. Sherman in command in Kentucky.

Executive Mansion, January 6, 1862.
Brigadier-General Buell.

My dear Sir: Your despatch of yesterday has been received, and it disappoints and distresses me. I have shown it to General McClellan, who says he will write you to-day. I am not competent to criticise your views, and therefore what I offer is in justification of myself. Of the two, I would rather have a point on the railroad south of Cumberland Gap than Nashville. First, because it cuts a great artery of the enemy's communication, which Nashville does not; and secondly, because it is in the midst of loyal people who would rally around it, while Nashville is not. Again, I cannot see why the movement in East Tennessee would not be a diversion in your favor rather than a disadvantage, assuming that a movement toward Nashville is the main object. But my distress is that our friends in East Tennessee are being hanged and driven to despair, and even now, I fear, are thinking of taking rebel arms for the sake of personal protection. In this we lose the most valuable stake we have in the South. My despatch, to which yours is an answer, was sent with the knowledge of Senator Johnson and Representative Maynard of East Tennessee, and they will be upon me to know the answer, which I cannot safely show them. They would despair, possibly resign to go and save their families somehow, or die with them. I do not intend this to be an order in any sense, but merely, as intimated before, to show you the grounds of my anxiety.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Washington, January 7, 1862.

Brigadier-General D. C. Buell, Louisville.

Please name as early a day as you safely can on or before which you can be ready to move southward in concert with Major-General Halleck. Delay is ruining us, and it is indispensable for me to have something definite. I send a like despatch to Major-General Halleck.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, January 13, 1862.

Brigadier-General Buell.

My dear Sir: Your despatch of yesterday is received, in which you say: "I have received your letter and General McClellan's, and will at once devote all my efforts to your views and his." In the midst of my many cares, I have not seen or asked to see General McClellan's letter to you. For my own views, I have not offered and do not now offer them as orders; and while I am glad to have them respectfully considered, I would blame you to follow them contrary to your own clear judgment, unless I should put them in the form of orders. As to General McClellan's views, you understand your duty in regard to them better than I do. With this preliminary, I state my general idea of this war to be that we have the greater numbers, and the enemy has the greater facility of concentrating forces upon points of collision; that we must fail unless we can find some way of making our advantage an overmatch for his; and that this can only be done by menacing him with superior forces at different points at the same time, so that we can safely attack one or both if he makes no change; and if he weakens one to strengthen the

other, forbear to attack the strengthened one, but seize and hold the weakened one, gaining so much. To illustrate: Suppose, last summer, when Winchester ran away to reinforce Manassas, we had forborne to attack Manassas, but had seized and held Winchester. I mention this to illustrate and not to criticise. I did not lose confidence in McDowell, and I think less harshly of Patterson than some others seem to. In application of the general rule I am suggesting, every particular case will have its modifying circumstances, among which the most constantly present and most difficult to meet will be the want of perfect knowledge of the enemy's movements. This had its part in the Bull Run case; but worse in that case was the expiration of the terms of the three months' men. Applying the principle to your case, my idea is that Halleck shall menace Columbus and "down river" generally, while you menace Bowling Green and East Tennessee. If the enemy shall concentrate at Bowling Green, do not retire from his front, yet do not fight him there either, but seize Columbus and East Tennessee, one or both, left exposed by the concentration at Bowling Green. It is a matter of no small anxiety to me, and one which I am sure you will not overlook, that the East Tennessee line is so long and over so bad a road. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Indorsement.*]

January 13, 1862.

Having to-day written General Buell a letter, it occurs to me to send General Halleck a copy of it. A. Lincoln.

Washington, March 10, 1862.

General D. C. Buell.

The evidence is very strong that the enemy in front of us here is breaking up and moving off. General McClellan is after him. Some part of the force may be destined to meet you. Look out and be prepared. I telegraphed Halleck, asking him to assist you if needed.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
September 8, 1862. 7.20 p. m.

General Buell.

What degree of certainty have you that Bragg, with his command, is not now in the valley of the Shenandoah, Virginia? A. Lincoln.

War Department,
October 19, 1862. 1.33 p. m.

Major-General Buell, Mount Vernon, Kentucky.

Your telegram of the 17th was received this morning, and has been laid before the President, who concurs in the views expressed in my telegram to you yesterday. The capture of East Tennessee should be the main object of your campaign. You say it is the heart of the enemy's resources; make it the heart of yours. Your army can live there if the enemy's can. You must in a great measure live upon the country, paying for your supplies where proper, and levying contributions where necessary. I am directed by the President to say to you that your army must enter East Tennessee this fall, and that it ought to move there while the roads are passable. Once between the enemy and Nashville, there

will be no serious difficulty in reopening your communications with that place. He does not understand why we cannot march as the enemy marches, live as he lives, and fight as he fights, unless we admit the inferiority of our troops and of our generals. Once hold the valley of the upper Tennessee, and the operations of guerrillas in that State and Kentucky will soon cease.

H. W. Halleck, General-in-chief.

Edwin M. Stanton.[1]

Executive Mansion, January 22, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: On reflection I think it will not do, as a rule, for the adjutant-general to attend me wherever I go: not that I have any objection to his presence, but that it would be an uncompensating encumbrance both to him and me. When it shall occur to me to go anywhere, I wish to be free to go at once, and not to have to notify the adjutant-general and wait till he can get ready.

It is better, too, for the public service that he shall give his time to the business of his office, and not to personal attendance on me.

While I thank you for the kindness of the suggestion, my view of the matter is as I have stated. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[1] When, on the 15th of January, 1862, the President was able to remove his incompetent Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, he appointed to the place Mr. Stanton, an able lawyer, and a patriot, as he had proved himself as Attorney-General in Buchanan's Cabinet in 1860-1861. While of an irritable temper, that in petty matters brought him into clashes with the President, he was Lincoln's mainstay.

Executive Mansion, January 31, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: It is my wish that the expedition commonly called the "Lane Expedition" shall be, as much as has been promised at the adjutant-general's office, under the supervision of General McClellan, and not any more. I have not intended, and do not now intend, that it shall be a great, exhausting affair, but a snug, sober column of 10,000 or 15,000. General Lane has been told by me many times that he is under the command of General Hunter, and assented to it as often as told. It was the distinct agreement between him and me, when I appointed him, that he was to be under Hunter.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

On March 15, 1862, the President wrote Secretary Stanton in reference to arms delivered by the manufacturers after time set in contract. He said:

If . . . these men acted in good faith, I think they should not be ruined by the transaction, but that the guns should be accepted and paid for. Of course, I understand the principle of strict law would not oblige the Government to take them, even if it were an individual.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, April 3, 1862.

The Secretary of War will order that one or the other of the corps of General McDowell and General Sumner remain in front of Washington until further orders from the department, to operate at or in the direction of Manassas Junction, or otherwise, as occasion may require; that the other corps not so ordered to remain go for-

ward to General McClellan as speedily as possible; that General McClellan commence his forward movements from his new base at once, and that such incidental modifications as the foregoing may render proper be also made.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, July 22, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Sir: I think it will be better to do nothing now which can be construed into a demand for troops in addition to the three hundred thousand for which we have recently called. We do not need more, nor, indeed, so many, if we could have the smaller number very soon. It is a very important consideration, too, that one recruited into an old regiment is nearly or quite equal in value to two in a new one. We can scarcely afford to forego any plan within our power which may facilitate the filling of the old regiments with recruits. If, on consideration, you are of opinion that this object can be advanced by causing the militia of the several States to be enrolled, and by drafts therefrom, you are at liberty to take the proper steps and do so, provided that any number of recruits so obtained from any State within the next three months shall, if practicable, be an abatement of the quota of volunteers from such State under the recent call.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

On August 12, 1862, the President wrote Secretary Stanton about a soldier who was with his brother (also in the army), the support of their widowed mother. He had been a deserter, but had reënlisted in another company:

Let him be discharged from arrest and go to duty. I think, too, he should have his pay for duty actually performed. Loss of pay falls so hard upon poor families.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, January 1, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Dear Sir: Yesterday a piteous appeal was made to me by an old lady of genteel appearance, saying she had, with what she thought sufficient assurance that she would not be disturbed by the Government, fitted up the two south divisions of the old "Duff Green" building in order to take boarders, and has boarders already in it, and others, including members of Congress, engaged; and that now she is ordered to be out of it by Saturday, the 3d instant; and that independently of the ruin it brings on her by her lost outlay, she neither has nor can find another shelter for her own head. I know nothing about it myself, but promised to bring it to your notice.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, January 23, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Sir: I think General Butler should go to New Orleans again. He is unwilling to go unless he is restored to the command of the department. He should start by the first of February, and should take some force with him. The whole must be so managed as to not wrong or wound the feelings of General Banks. His original wish was to go to Texas; and it must be arranged for him to do this now with a substantial force; and yet he must not go to the endangering the open-

ing of the Mississippi. I hope this may be done by the time General Butler shall arrive there; but whether or not, I think we cannot longer dispense with General Butler's services.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, May 11, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Dear Sir: I have again concluded to relieve General Curtis. I see no other way to avoid the worst consequences there. I think of General Schofield as his successor, but I do not wish to take the matter of a successor out of the hands of yourself and General Halleck.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

General Schofield was appointed.

Executive Mansion, July 21, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: I desire that a renewed and vigorous effort be made to raise colored forces along the shores of the Mississippi. Please consult the general-in-chief, and if it is perceived that any acceleration of the matter can be effected, let it be done. I think the evidence is nearly conclusive that General Thomas is one of the best (if not the very best) instruments for this service. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

General Lorenzo Thomas, who had been Adjutant-General, was sent on this service.

Executive Mansion, July 28, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: A young son of Senator Brown of Mississippi, not yet twenty, as I understand,

was wounded and made a prisoner at Gettysburg. His mother is sister of Mrs. P. R. Fendall, of this city. Mr. Fendall, on behalf of himself and family, asks that he and they may have charge of the boy to cure him up, being responsible for his person and good behavior. Would it not be rather a grateful and graceful thing to let them have him? Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, July 29, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Sir: Can we not renew the effort to organize a force to go to Western Texas?[1]

Please consult with the general-in-chief on the subject.

If the Governor of New Jersey shall furnish any new regiments, might not they be put into such an expedition? Please think of it.

I believe no local object is now more desirable.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, August 21, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: In the autumn of 1861, certain persons in armed rebellion against the United States, within the counties of Accomac and Northampton, laid down their arms upon certain terms then proposed to them by General Dix, in and by a certain proclamation. It is now said that these persons, or some of them, are about to be forced into the military lines of the existing rebellion, unless they will take an oath prescribed to them since, and not included in General Dix's

[1] This was to prevent the establishment of a Mexican monarchy under Maximilian. General N. P. Banks was sent on the expedition.

proclamation referred to. Now, my judgment is that no one of these men should be forced from his home, who has not broken faith with the Government, according to the terms fixed by General Dix and these men.

It is bad faith in the Government to force new terms upon such as have kept faith with it—at least so it seems to me. A. Lincoln.

On August 26, 1863, the President gave instructions about the conduct of the draft, with particular reference to New York State. He closed his letter as follows:

I wish that also to go forward, and I wish Governor Seymour notified of it; so that if he choose, he can place agents of his with ours to see the work fairly done.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, September 1, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: I am now informed, contrary to my impression when I last talked with you, that the order compelling the four hundred on the eastern shore of Virginia to take the oath or be sent away is about being carried into execution. As this, and also the assessment for damage done to and at the lighthouse, are very strong measures, and as I have to bear the responsibility of them, I wish them suspended until I can at least be better satisfied of their propriety than I am now. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

The orders were suspended.

Executive Mansion, November 11, 1863.
Hon. Secretary of War.

Dear Sir: I personally wish Jacob Freese, of New Jersey, to be appointed colonel for a colored regiment, and this regardless of whether he can tell the exact shade of Julius Cæsar's hair.

Yours, etc., A. Lincoln.

On November 17, 1863, Secretary Stanton sent the President a schedule of close train arrangements to go to Gettysburg, Pa., for the dedication ceremonies of the National Cemetery, and to return within one day. On this the President made the following indorsement:

[*Indorsement.*]

I do not like this arrangement. I do not wish to so go that by the slightest accident we fail entirely, and, at the best, the whole be a mere breathless running of the gauntlet. But, any way. A. Lincoln.

November 17, 1863.

Executive Mansion, December 18, 1863.
Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: I believe General Schofield must be relieved from command of the department of Missouri; otherwise a question of veracity, in relation to his declarations as to his interfering, or not, with the Missouri legislature, will be made with him, which will create an additional amount of trouble, not to be overcome by even a correct decision of the question. The question itself must be avoided. Now for the mode. Senator Henderson, his friend, thinks he can be induced to ask to be relieved, if he shall understand he will be generously treated; and,

on this latter point, Gratz Brown will help his nomination as a major-general through the Senate. In no other way can he be confirmed; and upon his rejection alone it would be difficult for me to sustain him as commander of the department. Besides, his being relieved from command of the department, and at the same time confirmed as a major-general, will be the means of Henderson and Brown leading off together as friends, and will go far to heal the Missouri difficulty. Another point. I find it is scarcely less than indispensable for me to do something for General Rosecrans; and I find Henderson and Brown will agree to him for the commander of their department.

Again, I have received such evidence and explanations, in regard to the supposed cotton transactions of General Curtis, as fully restore in my mind the fair presumption of his innocence; and, as he is my friend, and what is more, as I think, the country's friend, I would be glad to relieve him from the impression that I think him dishonest by giving him a command. Most of the Iowa and Kansas delegations, a large part of that of Missouri, and the delegates from Nebraska and Colorado, ask this in behalf of General C., and suggest Kansas and other contiguous territory west of Missouri as a department for him. In a purely military point of view it may be that none of these things are indispensable, or perhaps advantageous; but in another aspect, scarcely less important, they would give great relief; while, at the worst, I think they could not injure the military service much. I therefore shall be greatly obliged if yourself and General Halleck can give me your hearty co-

operation in making the arrangement. Perhaps the first thing would be to send General Schofield's nomination to me. Let me hear from you before you take any actual step in the matter.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, December 21, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: Sending a note to the Secretary of the Navy, as I promised, he called over and said that the strikes in the ship-yards had thrown the completion of vessels back so much that he thought General Gillmore's proposition entirely proper. He only wishes (and in which I concur) that General Gillmore will courteously confer with, and explain to, Admiral Dahlgren.

In regard to the Western matter, I believe the program will have to stand substantially as I first put it. Henderson, and especially Brown, believe that the social influence of St. Louis would inevitably tell injuriously upon General Pope in the particular difficulty existing there, and I think there is some force in that view.

As to retaining General Schofield temporarily, if this should be done, I believe I should scarcely be able to get his nomination through the Senate. Send me over his nomination, which, however, I am not quite ready to send to the Senate.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, December 31, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Sir: Please fix up the department to which Curtis is to go, without waiting to wind up the

Missouri matter. Lane is very anxious to have Fort Smith in it, and I am willing, unless there be decided military reasons to the contrary, in which case of course, I am not for it. It will oblige me to have the Curtis department fixed at once. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

On the next day General Curtis was appointed to the department of Kansas.

Executive Mansion, February 1, 1864.

Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

Sir: You are directed to have a transport (either a steam or sailing vessel, as may be deemed proper by the Quartermaster-General) sent to the colored colony established by the United States at the Island of Vache, on the coast of San Domingo, to bring back to this country such of the colonists there as desire to return. You will have the transport furnished with suitable supplies for that purpose, and detail an officer of the Quartermaster's department, who, under special intructions to be given, shall have charge of the business. The colonists will be brought to Washington unless otherwise hereafter directed, and be employed and provided for at the camps for colored persons around that city.

Those only will be brought from the island who desire to return, and their effects will be brought with them. Abraham Lincoln.

[*Indorsement upon a form of oath.*]

Submitted to the Secretary of War. On principle I dislike an oath which requires a man to swear he has not done wrong. It rejects the

Christian principle of forgiveness on terms of repentance. I think it is enough if the man does no wrong hereafter. A. Lincoln.

February 5, 1864.

Executive Mansion, February 11, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: In January, 1863, The Provost-Marshal at St. Louis, having taken the control of a certain church from one set of men and given it to another, I wrote General Curtis on the subject as follows:

> The United States Government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches. When an individual in a church or out of it becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked; but the churches, as such, must take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches.

Some trouble remaining in this same case, I, on the twenty-second of December, 1863, in a letter to Mr. O. D. Filley, repeated the above language, and among other things added:

> I have never interfered nor thought of interfering as to who shall or shall not preach in any church; nor have I knowingly or believingly tolerated any one else to so interfere by my authority. If any one is so interfering by color of my authority, I would like to have it specifically made known to me. . . . I will not have control of any church on any side.

After having made these declarations in good faith, and in writing, you can conceive of my embarrassment at now having brought to me what purports to be a formal order of the War Department, bearing date November 30, 1863,

giving Bishop Ames control and possession of all the Methodist churches in certain Southern military departments, whose pastors have not been appointed by a loyal bishop or bishops, and ordering the military to aid him against any resistance which may be made to his taking such possession and control. What is to be done about it? Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Stanton modified the objectionable features of his order.

On February 27, 1864, the President wrote to Secretary Stanton upon a report of special commissioners on the draft in New York. Referring to his instructions of August 26, 1863, he said:

My idea was to do the work over according to the law, in presence of the complaining party, and thereby to correct anything which might be found amiss. The commission, whose work I am considering, seem to have proceeded upon a totally different idea. Not going forth to find men at all, they have proceeded altogether upon paper examinations and mental processes. One of their conclusions, as I understand, is that, as the law stands, and attempting to follow it, the enrolling officers could not have made the enrolments much more accurately than they did. . . . [Yet] the commission conclude [admit?] that the quotas for the draft should be based upon entire population, and they . . . give a table for the State of New York, in which some districts are reduced and some increased. For the now ensuing draft, let the quotas stand as made by the enrolling officers, in the districts wherein this table requires them to be increased; and let them be reduced according to the table in the

others: this to be no precedent for the subsequent action. . . .

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 1, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: A poor widow, by the name of Baird, has a son in the army, that for some offense has been sentenced to serve a long time without pay, or at most with very little pay. I do not like this punishment of withholding pay —it falls so very hard upon poor families. After he had been serving in this way for several months, at the tearful appeal of the poor mother, I made a direction that he be allowed to enlist for a new term, on the same conditions as others. She now comes and says she cannot get it acted upon. Please do it.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Memorandum.*]

I think the Amsterdam projectile is too good a thing to be lost to the service, and if offered at the Hotchkiss prices, and not in excessive quantities, nor unreasonable terms in other respects, by either or both parties to the patent controversy, take it, so that the test be fully made. I am for the Government having the best articles in spite of patent controversies.

A. Lincoln.

March 10, 1864.

Executive Mansion, March 18, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: I am so pressed in regard to prisoners of war in our custody, whose homes

are within our lines, and who wish to not be exchanged, but to take the oath and be discharged, that I hope you will pardon me for again calling up the subject. My impression is that we will not ever force the exchange of any of this class; that, taking the oath and being discharged, none of them will again go to the rebellion; but the rebellion again coming to them, a considerable percentage of them, probably not a majority, would rejoin it; that, by a cautious discrimination, the number so discharged would not be large enough to do any considerable mischief in any event, will relieve distress in at least some meritorious cases, and would give me some relief from an intolerable pressure. I shall be glad, therefore, to have your cheerful assent to the discharge of those whose names I may send, which I will only do with circumspection. . . .

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 28, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: The Governor of Kentucky is here, and desires to have the following points definitely fixed:

First. That the quotas of troops furnished, and to be furnished, by Kentucky may be adjusted upon the basis as actually reduced by able-bodied men of hers having gone into the rebel service; and that she be required to furnish no more than her just quotas upon fair adjustment upon such basis.

Second. To whatever extent the enlistment and drafting, one or both, of colored troops may be found necessary within the State, it may be conducted within the law of Congress; and, so far

as practicable, free from collateral embarrassments, disorders, and provocations.

I think these requests of the Governor are reasonable; and I shall be obliged if you will give him a full hearing, and do the best you can to effect these objects.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, July 14, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Sir: Your note of to-day inclosing General Halleck's letter of yesterday relative to offensive remarks supposed to have been made by the Postmaster-General [1] concerning the military officers on duty about Washington is received. The General's letter in substance demands of me that if I approve the remarks I shall strike the names of those officers from the rolls; and that if I do not approve them the Postmaster-General shall be dismissed from the Cabinet.

Whether the remarks were really made I do not know, nor do I suppose such knowledge is necessary to a correct response. If they were made, I do not approve them; and yet, under the circumstances, I would not dismiss a member of the Cabinet therefor. I do not consider what may have been hastily said in a moment of vexation at so severe a loss is sufficient ground for so grave a step. Besides this, truth is generally the best vindication against slander. I propose continuing to be myself the judge as to when a member of the Cabinet shall be dismissed.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[1] Montgomery Blair (see correspondence with him).

Executive Mansion, August 22, 1864.
Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: I very much wish to oblige Henry Ward Beecher by releasing Howard;[1] but I wish you to be satisfied when it is done. What say you? Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

I have no objection if you think it right—and this a proper time. E. M. S.

Let Howard, imprisoned in regard to the bogus proclamation, be discharged.

A. Lincoln.

August 23, 1864.

Executive Mansion, August 27, 1864.
Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: If General Sigel has asked for an inquiry, let him have it, if there is not some insurmountable, or at least, very serious obstacle. He is fairly entitled to this consideration.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, October 31, 1864.
Hon. Secretary of War.

Sir: Herewith is a letter of Governor Curtin, which speaks for itself. I suggest for your consideration, whether, to the extent of, say, 5,000, we might not exempt from the draft, upon the men being put in good shape to defend and give assurance to the border. I have not said even

[1] Joseph Howard, a New York journalist, forged a proclamation about the draft for stock-rigging purposes. He was imprisoned for the crime in Fort Lafayette, and the *World* and the *Journal of Commerce*, papers which published the proclamation, were temporarily suspended.

this much to the bearer, General Todd,[1] whom I hope you will see and hear.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, January 19, 1865.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Dear Sir: You remember that from time to time appeals have been made to us by persons claiming to have attempted to come through our lines with their effects to take the benefit of the amnesty proclamation, and to have been despoiled of their effects under General Butler's administration. Some of these claims have color of merit, and may be really meritorious. Please consider whether we cannot set on foot an investigation which may advance justice in the premises. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

City Point, Virginia,
March 25, 1865. 8.30 a. m.

Hon. Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

. . . General Lee has sent the Russell letter back, concluding, as I understand from Grant, that their dignity does not admit of their receiving the document from us. Robert just now tells me there was a little rumpus up the line this morning, ending about where it began.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

City Point, Virginia,
March 27, 1865. 3.35 p. m.

Hon. Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

Yours inclosing Fort Sumter order received.

[1] John B. S. Todd.

I think of but one suggestion. I feel quiet confident that Sumter fell on the 13th, and not on the 14th of April, as you have it. It fell on Saturday, the 13th; the first call for troops on our part was got up on Sunday, the 14th, and given date and issued on Monday, the 15th. Look up the old almanac and other data, and see if I am not right. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

City Point, Virginia, March 28, 1865. 12 m.
Hon. Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

After your explanation, I think it is little or no difference whether the Fort Sumter ceremony takes place on the 13th or 14th. . . .

A. Lincoln.

City Point, Va., March 30, 1865. 7.30 p. m.
Hon. Secretary of War.

I begin to feel that I ought to be at home and yet I dislike to leave without seeing nearer to the end of General Grant's present movement. He has now been out since yesterday morning and although he has not yet been diverted from his programme no considerable effort has yet been produced so far as we know here. Last night at 10.15 p. m. when it was dark as a rainy night without a moon could be, a furious cannonade soon joined in by a heavy musketry fire opened near Petersburg and lasted about two hours. The sound was very distinct here as also were the flashes of the guns upon the clouds. It seemed to me a great battle, but the older hands here scarcely noticed it and sure enough this morning it was found that very little had been done. A. Lincoln.

[*Cipher Telegram.*]

City Point, Va., April 3, 1865. 5 p. m.

Hon. Edwin M. Stanton,
Secretary of War.

Yours received. Thanks for your caution, but I have already been to Petersburg, stayed with General Grant an hour and a half and returned here. It is certain now that Richmond is in our hands, and I think I will go there to-morrow. I will take care of myself. A. Lincoln.

Nathaniel Gordon.

On February 4, 1862, the President having refused the petition of "a large number of respectable citizens" to commute the death sentence of Nathaniel Gordon, convicted of being a slave trader, gave him a respite from February 7, 1862, to February 21, 1862, because of the seeming probability that the expectation of a commutation of sentence may have prevented Gordon "from making the necessary preparation for the awful change which awaits him."

In granting this respite it becomes my painful duty to admonish the prisoner that, relinquishing all expectation of pardon by human authority, he refer himself alone to the mercy of the common God and Father of all men.

In testimony, etc. Abraham Lincoln.

By the President:

William H. Seward, Secretary of State.

Samuel F. Dupont.

In conformity with an act of Congress approved December 21, 1861, "further to promote the efficiency of the navy," Captain Dupont was nominated to the Senate to continue as flag-officer in command of the squadron "which recently rendered such important

service to the Union in the expedition to the coast of South Carolina." On February 4, 1862, the President sent a Message to Congress in which he said:

Believing that no occasion could arise which would more fully correspond with the intention of the law, or be more pregnant with happy influence as an example, I cordially recommend that Captain Samuel F. Dupont receive a vote of thanks of Congress for his services and gallantry displayed in the capture of Forts Walker and Beauregard, commanding the entrance of Port Royal harbor, on the 7th of November, 1861. Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, February 4, 1862.

[*Message to Congress.*]

March 20, 1862.

I cordially recommend that Captain Samuel F. Dupont receive a vote of thanks of Congress for his services and gallantry displayed in the capture, since the 21st of December, 1861, of various points on the coasts of Georgia and Florida, particularly Brunswick, Cumberland Island and Sound, Amelia Island, the towns of St. Mary's, St. Augustine, Jacksonville, and Fernandina. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, April 13, 1863.

Admiral Dupont.

Hold your position inside the bar near Charleston; or, if you shall have left it, return to it, and hold it till further orders. Do not allow the enemy to erect new batteries or defenses on Morris Island. If he has begun it, drive him

out. I do not herein order you to renew the general attack. That is to depend on your own discretion or a further order. A. Lincoln.

See letter to David Hunter of April 14, 1863.

Louis M. Goldsborough.

[*Message to Congress.*]

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States: . . .

Believing that no occasion could arise which would more fully correspond with the intention of the law [*authorizing the President to recommend to Congress naval officers to receive vote of thanks for gallant service*], or be more pregnant with happy influence as an example, I cordially recommend that Louis M. Goldsborough receive a vote of thanks of Congress for his services and gallantry displayed in the combined attack of the forces commanded by him and Brigadier-General Burnside in the capture of Roanoke Island and the destruction of rebel gunboats on the 7th, 8th, and 10th of February, 1862.

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, February 15, 1862.

[*Telegram.*]

Fort Monroe, Virginia, May 7, 1862.

Flag-officer Goldsborough.

Sir: Major-General McClellan telegraphs that he has ascertained by a reconnaissance that the battery at Jamestown has been abandoned, and he again requests that gunboats may be sent up the James River.

If you have tolerable confidence that you can

successfully contend with the *Merrimac* without the help of the *Galena* and two accompanying gunboats, send the *Galena* and two gunboats up the James River at once. Please report your action on this to me at once. I shall be found either at General Wool's headquarters or on board the *Miami.*

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Fort Monroe, Virginia, May 10, 1862.

Flag-officer Goldsborough.

My dear Sir: I send you this copy of your report of yesterday for the purpose of saying to you in writing that you are quite right in supposing that the movement made by you and therein reported was made in accordance with my wishes verbally expressed to you in advance. I avail myself of the occasion to thank you for your courtesy and all your conduct, so far as known to me, during my brief visit here.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., June 28, 1862.

Flag-officer Goldsborough, Fort Monroe.

Enemy has cut McClellan's communication with White House, and is driving Stoneman back on that point. Do what you can for him with gunboats at or near your place. McClellan's main force is between the Chickahominy and the James. Also do what you can to communicate with him and support him there. A. Lincoln.

Henry J. Raymond.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, March 9, 1862.

Hon. Henry J. Raymond.

My dear Sir: I am grateful to the New York journals, and not less so to the *Times* than to others, for the kind notices of the late special message to Congress.

Your paper, however, intimates that the proposition, though well intentioned, must fail on the score of expense. I do hope you will reconsider this. Have you noticed the facts that less than one half day's cost of this war would pay for all the slaves in Delaware at $400 per head—that eighty-seven days' cost of this war would pay for all in Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Kentucky, and Missouri at the same price? Were those States to take the step, do you doubt that it would shorten the war more than eighty-seven days, and thus be an actual saving of expense?

Please look at these things and consider whether there should not be another article in the *Times*.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, August 15, 1864.

Hon. Henry J. Raymond.

My dear Sir: I have proposed to Mr. Greeley that the Niagara correspondence be published, suppressing only the parts of his letters over which the red pencil is drawn in the copy which I herewith send. He declines giving his consent to the publication of his letters unless these parts be published with the rest. I have concluded that it is better for me to submit for the time to the consequences of the false position in which

I consider he has placed me than to subject the country to the consequences of publishing their discouraging and injurious parts. I send you this and the accompanying copy, not for publication, but merely to explain to you, and that you may preserve them until the proper time shall come. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

James A. McDougall.

Executive Mansion, March 14, 1862.

Hon. James A. McDougall, United States Senate.

My dear Sir: As to the expensiveness of the plan of gradual emancipation with compensation, proposed in the late message, please allow me one or two brief suggestions.

Less than one-half day's cost of this war would pay for all the slaves in Delaware at four hundred dollars per head.

Thus, all the slaves in Delaware by the census of 1860, are.....	1,798
	400
Cost of the slaves	$719,200
One day's cost of the war	2,000,000

Again, less than eighty-seven days' cost of this war would, at the same price, pay for all in Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Kentucky, and Missouri.

Thus, slaves in	Delaware	1,798
" "	Maryland	87,188
" "	Dist. of Columbia.	3,181
" "	Kentucky	225,490
" "	Missouri	114,965
		432,622
		400
Cost of slaves		$173,048,800
Eighty-seven days' cost of the war		174,000,000

Do you doubt that taking the initiatory steps on the part of those States and this District would shorten the war more than eighty-seven days, and thus be an actual saving of expense?

A word as to the time and manner of incurring the expense. Suppose, for instance, a State devises and adopts a system by which the institution absolutely ceases therein by a named day —say January 1, 1882. Then let the sum to be paid to such a State by the United States be ascertained by taking from the census of 1860 the number of slaves within the State, and multiplying that number by four hundred—the United States to pay such sums to the State in twenty equal annual instalments, in six per cent. bonds of the United States.

The sum thus given, as to time and manner, I think, would not be half as onerous as would be an equal sum raised now for the indefinite prosecution of the war; but of this you can judge as well as I. I inclose a census table for your convenience. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Samuel Boyd Tobey.

Executive Mansion, March 19, 1862.

Dr. Samuel Boyd Tobey.

My dear Sir: A domestic affliction, of which doubtless you are informed, has delayed me so long in making acknowledgment of the very kind and appropriate letter signed . . . by . . . representatives of the Society of Friends for New England, held at Providence, Rhode Island, the 8th of second month, 1862. . . .

Engaged as I am in a great war, I fear it will be difficult for the world to understand how

fully I appreciate the principles of peace inculcated in this letter and everywhere by the Society of Friends.

Grateful to the good people you represent for the prayers in behalf of our common country, I look forward hopefully to an early end of war and return to peace.

Your obliged friend, A. Lincoln.

Richard Yates and William Butler.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, April 10, 1862.

Hon. R. Yates and William Butler, Springfield, Illinois.

I fully appreciate General Pope's splendid achievements, with their invaluable results; but you must know that major-generalships in the regular army are not as plenty as blackberries.

A. Lincoln.

Andrew Johnson.

On April 27, 1862, the President telegraphed Governor Johnson in regard to military operations in Tennessee:

War Department, April 27, 1862.

Governor Andrew Johnson,
Nashville, Tennessee.

General Halleck understands better than we can here, and he must be allowed to control in that quarter. If you are not in communication with Halleck, telegraph him at once, freely and frankly. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram in Cipher.*]

Washington, June 4, 1862.

Hon. Andrew Johnson, Nashville, Tennessee.

Do you really wish to have control of the question of releasing rebel prisoners so far as they may be Tennesseeans? If you do, please tell us so. Your answer not to be made public.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 7, 1862.

Governor Johnson, Nashville, Tennessee.

The President has received your two despatches of the 5th instant. He approves your proceedings of reprisal against the secessionists.

In regard to the release of the rebel prisoners, he holds the question as to the time when executive clemency shall be exercised under consideration. It has always been the design of the Government to leave the exercise of that clemency to your judgment and discretion whenever the period arrives that it can properly be exercised.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram in Cipher.*]

Washington, June 9, 1862.

Hon. Andrew Johnson,
Nashville, Tennessee.

Your despatch about seizing seventy rebels to exchange for a like number of Union men was duly received. I certainly do not disapprove the proposition.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, July 11, 1862.

Hon. Andrew Johnson.

My dear Sir: Yours of yesterday is received. Do you not, my good friend, perceive that what you ask is simply to put you in command in the West? I do not suppose you desire this. You only wish to control in your own localities; but this you must know may derange all other posts. Can you not, and will you not, have a full conference with General Halleck? Telegraph him, and meet him at such place as he and you can agree upon. I telegraph him to meet you and confer fully with you. A. Lincoln.

See also letter to Henry W. Halleck of July 11, 1862.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, October 31, 1862.

Gov. Andrew Johnson, Nashville, Tenn., via Louisville, Ky.

Yours of the 29th received. I shall take it to General Halleck, but I already know it will be very inconvenient to take General Morgan's command from where it now is. I am glad to hear you speak hopefully for Tennessee. I sincerely hope Rosecrans may find it possible to do something for her. David Nelson, son of the M. C. of your State, regrets his father's final defection, and asks me for a situation. Do you know him? Could he be of service to you or to Tennessee in any capacity in which I could send him?

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, November 14, 1862.
Gov. Andrew Johnson, Nashville, Tennessee.

Your despatch of the 4th, about returning troops from western Virginia to Tennessee, is just received, and I have been to General Halleck with it. He says an order has already been made by which those troops have already moved, or soon will move, to Tennessee. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, January 8, 1863.
Governor Johnson, Nashville, Tennessee.

A despatch of yesterday from Nashville says the body of Captain Todd, of the Sixth Kentucky, was brought in to-day.

Please tell me what was his Christian name, and whether he was in our service or that of the enemy. I shall also be glad to have your impressions as to the effect the late operations about Murfreesborough will have on the prospects of Tennessee. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, January 10, 1863.
Governor Johnson, Nashville, Tennessee.

Yours received. I presume the remains of Captain Todd are in the hands of his family and friends, and I wish to give no order on the subject; but I do wish your opinion of the effects of the late battles about Murfreesborough upon the prospects of Tennessee. A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, March 26, 1863.

Hon. Andrew Johnson.

My dear Sir: I am told you have at least thought of raising a negro military force. In my opinion the country now needs no specific thing so much as some man of your ability and position to go to this work. When I speak of your position, I mean that of an eminent citizen of a slave State and himself a slaveholder. The colored population is the great available and yet unavailed of force for restoring the Union. The bare sight of fifty thousand armed and drilled black soldiers upon the banks of the Mississippi would end the rebellion at once; and who doubts that we can present that sight if we but take hold in earnest? If you have been thinking of it, please do not dismiss the thought.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, September 8, 1863. 9.30 a. m.

Hon. Andrew Johnson, Nashville, Tennessee.

Despatch of yesterday just received. I shall try to find the paper you mention and carefully consider it. In the meantime let me urge that you do your utmost to get every man you can, black and white, under arms at the very earliest moment, to guard roads, bridges and trains, allowing all the better trained soldiers to go forward to Rosecrans. Of course I mean for you to act in coöperation with, and not independently of, the military authorities. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, September 11, 1863.
Hon. Andrew Johnson.

My dear Sir: All Tennessee is now clear of armed insurrectionists. You need not to be reminded that it is the nick of time for reinaugurating a loyal State government. Not a moment should be lost. You and the coöperating friends there can better judge of the ways and means than can be judged by any here. I only offer a few suggestions. The reinauguration must not be such as to give control of the State and its representation in Congress to the enemies of the Union, driving its friends there into political exile. The whole struggle for Tennessee will have been profitless to both State and nation if it so ends that Governor Johnson is put down and Governor Harris is put up. It must not be so. You must have it otherwise. Let the reconstruction be the work of such men only as can be trusted for the Union. Exclude all others, and trust that your government so organized will be recognized here as being the one of republican form to be guaranteed to the State, and to be protected against invasion and domestic violence. It is something on the question of time to remember that it cannot be known who is next to occupy the position I now hold, nor what he will do. I see that you have declared in favor of emancipation in Tennessee, for which may God bless you. Get emancipation into your new State government—constitution—and there will be no such word as fail for your case. The raising of colored troops, I think, will greatly help every way. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Inclosure.*]

Executive Mansion, September 19, 1863.

Hon. Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee.

In addition to the matters contained in the orders and instructions given you by the Secretary of War, you are hereby authorized to exercise such powers as may be necessary and proper to enable the loyal people of Tennessee to present such a republican form of State government as will entitle the State to the guaranty of the United States therefor, and to be protected under such State government by the United States against invasion and domestic violence, all according to the fourth section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States. Abraham Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, July 27, 1864.

Governor Johnson, Nashville, Tennessee.

I also received yours about General Carl Schurz. I appreciate him certainly, as highly as you do; but you can never know until you have the trial, how difficult it is to find a place for an officer of so high rank when there is no place seeking him. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 25, 1864.

Governor Johnson, Nashville, Tennessee.

Thanks to General Gillam for making the news, and also to you for sending it. Does Joe Heiskell's "walking to meet us" mean any more

than that "Joe" was scared and wanted to save his skin? A. Lincoln.

See letter of October 22, 1864, to William B. Campbell.

In the fall election of 1864 Governor Johnson was elected Vice-President.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., January 14, 1865.

Governor Johnson, Nashville, Tennessee.

Yours announcing ordinance of emancipation received. Thanks to the convention and to you. When do you expect to be here? Would be glad to have your suggestions as to supplying your place of military governor. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, January 24, 1865.

Hon. Andrew Johnson, Nashville, Tennessee.

Several members of the Cabinet, with myself, considered the question to-day as to the time of your coming on here. While we fully appreciate your wish to remain in Tennessee until her State government shall be completely reinaugurated, it is our unanimous conclusion that it is unsafe for you to not be here on the 4th of March. Be sure to reach here by that time. A. Lincoln.

Charles P. Stone.

[*Message to the Senate.*]

To the Senate of the United States: In answer to the resolution of the Senate [*of April 22*]

in relation to Brigadier-General Stone,[1] I have the honor to state that he was arrested and imprisoned under my general authority, and upon evidence which, whether he be guilty or innocent, required, as appears to me, such proceedings to be had against him for the public safety. I deem it incompatible with the public interest, as also, perhaps, unjust to General Stone, to make a more particular statement of the evidence.

He has not been tried because, in the state of military operations at the time of his arrest and since, the officers to constitute a court martial and for witnesses could not be withdrawn from duty without serious injury to the service. He will be allowed a trial without any unnecessary delay; the charges and specifications will be furnished him in due season, and every facility for his defense will be afforded him by the War Department. Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, May 1, 1862.

David G. Farragut.[2]

[*Message to Congress.*]

May 14, 1862.

The President recommends "that Captain D. G. Farragut receive a vote of thanks of Congress for his services and gallantry displayed in the capture, since the 21st of December, 1861, of Forts Jackson and St.

[1] General Charles P. Stone was arrested after the defeat of Ball's Bluff, for conspiracy. He was confined for six months in Fort Lafayette, New York City, and then, no proof developing, was discharged.

[2] Farragut, the most distinguished naval officer of the war, was a native of Tennessee, and, at the outbreak of the war, a resident of Norfolk, Va. He heartily approved of the President's call for troops to suppress the rebellion, and, when told that a person with such sentiments could not live in Norfolk, moved North. In December, 1861,

Philip, city of New Orleans, and the destruction of various rebel gun-boats, rams, etc." The President names thirty other officers who distinguished themselves in these operations, and recommends that they also receive the thanks of Congress.

[*Inclosure.*]

Executive Mansion, November 6, 1864.

Naval officer in command at Mobile Bay.

Do not on any account, or on any showing of authority whatever, from whomsoever purporting to come, allow the blockade to be violated.

A. Lincoln.

See letter to E. R. S. Canby of December 12, 1864.

Members of Methodist Conference.

About the middle of May the President replied as follows to resolutions of the East Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church:

These kind words of approval, coming from so numerous a body of intelligent Christian people, and so free from all suspicion of sinister motives, are indeed encouraging to me. By the help of an all-wise Providence, I shall endeavor to do my duty, and I shall expect the continuance of your prayers for a right solution of our national difficulties and the restoration of our country to peace and prosperity.

Your obliged and humble servant,

A. Lincoln.

he was ordered to command an expedition to the Gulf of Mexico. He sailed from Hampton Roads, Va., on February 2, 1862. His capture of New Orleans was an heroic feat, and one of the most important events of the war, leading to the conquest of the entire Mississippi, and causing Napoleon III. of France to abandon his idea of recognizing the Confederacy as a nation.

IRVIN McDOWELL.

[*Memorandum.*]

May 17, 1862.

You will retain the separate command of the forces taken with you; but while co-operating with General McClellan you will obey his orders, except that you are to judge, and are not to allow your force to be disposed otherwise than so as to give the greatest protection to this capital which may be possible from that distance.

[*Indorsement.*]

To the Secretary of War.

The President having shown this to me, I suggest that it is dangerous to direct a subordinate not to obey the orders of his superior in any case, and that to give instructions to General McClellan to this same end and furnish General McDowell with a copy thereof would effect the object desired by the President. He desired me to say that the sketch of instructions to General McClellan herewith he thought made this addition unnecessary.

Respectfully, M. C. M.
[Quartermaster-General Meigs.]

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 24, 1862. 5 p. m.

Major-General McDowell, Fredericksburg.

General Frémont has been ordered by telegraph to move from Franklin on Harrisonburg to relieve General Banks, and capture or destroy Jackson's and Ewell's forces.[1]

You are instructed, laying aside for the present the movement on Richmond, to put 20,000 men in motion at once for the Shenandoah, mov-

[1] See Frémont correspondence.

ing on the line or in advance of the line of the Manassas Gap Railroad. Your object will be to capture the forces of Jackson and Ewell, either in co-operation with General Frémont, or, in case want of supplies or of transportation interferes with his movements, it is believed that the force which you move will be sufficient to accomplish this object alone. The information thus far received here makes it probable that if the enemy operate actively against General Banks, you will not be able to count upon much assistance from him, but may even have to release him.

Reports received this moment are that Banks is fighting with Ewell eight miles from Winchester. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 24, 1862.

Major-General McDowell, Falmouth.

In view of the operations of the enemy on the line of General Banks, the President thinks the whole force you designed to move from Fredericksburg should not be taken away, and he therefore directs that one brigade in addition to what you designed to leave at Fredericksburg should be left there: this brigade to be the least effective of your command.

Edwin M. Stanton.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 24, 1862. 8 p. m.

Major-General McDowell.

I am highly gratified by your alacrity in obeying my order. The change was as painful to me as it can possibly be to you or to any one.

Everything now depends upon the celerity and vigor of your movement. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 26, 1862. 1 p. m.
Major-General McDowell, Falmouth, Virginia.

. . . Should not the remainder of your forces, except sufficient to hold the point at Fredericksburg, move this way—to Manassas Junction or Alexandria? As commander of this department, should you not be here? I ask these questions.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 28, 1862. 1 p. m.
General McDowell, Manassas Junction.

. . . If Porter effects a lodgment on both railroads near Hanover Court House, consider whether your forces in front of Fredericksburg should not push through and join him.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 28, 1862. 4 p. m.
General McDowell, Manassas Junction.

You say General Geary's scouts report that they find no enemy this side of the Blue Ridge. Neither do I. Have they been to the Blue Ridge looking for them? A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 28, 1862. 5.40 p. m.
General McDowell, Manassas Junction.

I think the evidence now preponderates that Ewell and Jackson are still about Winchester. Assuming this, it is for you a question of legs.

Put in all the speed you can. I have told Frémont as much, and directed him to drive at them as fast as possible. By the way, I suppose you know Frémont has got up to Moorefield, instead of going to Harrisonburg. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 29, 1862. 12 m.
Major-General McDowell, Manassas Junction.

General Frémont's force should, and probably will, be at or near Strasburg by twelve (noon) to-morrow. Try to have your force, or the advance of it, at Front Royal as soon.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 30, 1862. 9.30 p. m.
Major-General McDowell, Rectortown, Virginia.

I send you a despatch just received from Saxton at Harper's Ferry:

> . . . The enemy appeared this morning and then retired, with the intention of drawing us on. . . .

It seems the game is before you. Have sent a copy to General Frémont. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 30, 1862. 10 a. m.
Major-General McDowell, Manassas Junction.

I somewhat apprehend that Frémont's force, in its present condition, may not be quite strong enough in case it comes in collision with the enemy. For this additional reason I wish you to push forward your column as rapidly as possible. Tell me what number your force reaching Front Royal will amount to. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 30, 1862. 12.40 p. m.
Major-General McDowell, Rectortown.

Your despatch of to-day received and is satisfactory. Frémont has nominally 22,000, really about 17,000. Blenker's division is part of it. I have a despatch from Frémont this morning, not telling me where he is; but he says:

Scouts and men from Winchester represent Jackson's force variously at 30,000 to 60,000. With him Generals Ewell and Longstreet.

The high figures erroneous, of course. Do you know where Longstreet is? Corinth is evacuated and occupied by us. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 30, 1862. 2.30 p. m.
Major-General McDowell.

Herewith I send a telegram just received from General Frémont. The despatch is dated of last night, and the point he says he will be at five o'clock Saturday afternoon is "Strasburg, or as near it as it may be to the enemy at that time."

I direct Frémont to come to time as fixed by himself, and you will act your discretion, taking this information into your calculation.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 3, 1862. 6.15 p. m.
Major-General McDowell, Front Royal, Virginia.

Anxious to know whether Shields can head or

flank Jackson. Please tell about where Shields and Jackson, respectively, are at the time this reaches you. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram in Cipher.*]

Washington, June 6, 1862.

Major-General McDowell.

The President directs that McCall's division be sent by water to General McClellan immediately, and that you place such force at Fredericksburg by the time McCall leaves there as may, in your judgment, be necessary to hold that place. In respect to the operations of the residue of your force, the President reserves directions, to be given as soon as he determines.

Transportation has been ordered up the Rappahannock from here and from Fortress Monroe.

Adjutant-General shall issue the order.

Edwin M. Stanton.

G. Montague Hicks.

[*Indorsement on Letter.*]

This note, as Colonel Hicks did verbally yesterday, attempts to excite me against the Secretary of War, and therein is offensive to me. My "order," as he is pleased to call it, is plainly no order at all. A. Lincoln.

May 22, 1862.

Rufus Saxton.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 24, 1862. 1 p. m.

General Saxton.

Geary reports Jackson with 20,000 moving from Ashby's Gap by the Little River turnpike,

through Aldie, toward Centreville. This, he says, is reliable. He is also informed of large forces south of him. We know a force of some 15,000 broke up Saturday night from in front of Fredericksburg and went we know not where. Please inform us, if possible, what has become of the force which pursued Banks yesterday; also any other information you have. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 25, 1862. 4.15 p. m.
General Saxton, Harper's Ferry.

If Banks reaches Martinsburg, is he any the better for it? Will not the enemy cut him from thence to Harper's Ferry? Have you sent anything to meet him and assist him at Martinsburg? This is an inquiry, not an order. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 25, 1862. 6.50 p. m.
General Saxton, Harper's Ferry.

One good six-gun battery, complete in its men and appointments, is now on its way to you from Baltimore. Eleven other guns, of different sorts, are on their way to you from here. Hope they will all reach you before morning. As you have but 2,500 men at Harper's Ferry, where are the rest which were in that vicinity and which we have sent forward? Have any of them been cut off? A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 25, 1862.
General Saxton, Harper's Ferry.

I fear you have mistaken me. I did not mean to question the correctness of your conduct; on

the contrary, I approve what you have done. As the 2,500 reported by you seemed small to me, I feared some had got to Banks and been cut off with him. Please tell me the exact number you now have in hand. A. Lincoln.

See also correspondence with Frémont, McDowell, and Banks.

D. S. Miles.

War Department, May 24, 1862. 1.30 p. m.
Colonel Miles, Harper's Ferry, Virginia.

Could you not send scouts from Winchester who would tell whether enemy are north of Banks, moving on Winchester? What is the latest you have? A. Lincoln.

Nathaniel P. Banks.

War Department, May 24, 1862.
Major-General Banks, Winchester.

In your despatch of this evening to the President, you say that you intend to return with your command to Strasburg. The question is suggested whether you will not by that movement expose your stores and trains at Winchester. The President desires, therefore, more detailed information than you have yet furnished respecting the force and position of the enemy in your neighborhood before you make a movement that will subject Winchester or Harper's Ferry to danger from sudden attack.

You will please report fully before moving.
Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 29, 1862. 12 m.

Major-General Banks, Williamsport, Maryland.

General McDowell's advance should, and probably will, be at or near Front Royal at twelve (noon) to-morrow. General Frémont will be at or near Strasburg as soon. Please watch the enemy closely, and follow and harass and detain him if he attempts to retire. I mean this for General Saxton's force as well as that immediately with you. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 30, 1862. 10.15 a. m.

Major-General Banks,

Williamsport, Maryland, *via* Harper's Ferry.

If the enemy in force is in or about Martinsburg, Charlestown, and Winchester, or any or all of them, he may come in collision with Frémont, in which case I am anxious that your force, with you and at Harper's Ferry, should so operate as to assist Frémont if possible; the same if the enemy should engage McDowell. This was the meaning of my despatch yesterday.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

On June 1, 1862, Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, telegraphed General Banks at Williamsport of the addition to his force of Major-General Sigel with 10,000 men, adding—"the President desires you to assume actively the offensive against the retreating enemy without the loss of an hour."

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, June 22, 1862.

Major-General Banks, Middletown.

I am very glad you are looking well to the west for a movement of the enemy in that direction. You know my anxiety on that point. All was quiet at General McClellan's headquarters at two o'clock to-day. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, November 22, 1862.

My dear General Banks: Early last week you left me in high hope with your assurance that you would be off with your expedition at the end of that week, or early in this. It is now the end of this, and I have just been overwhelmed and confounded with the sight of a requisition made by you which, I am assured, cannot be filled and got off within an hour short of two months. I inclose you a copy of the requisition, in some hope that it is not genuine —that you have never seen it. My dear general, this expanding and piling up of *impedimenta* has been, so far, almost our ruin, and will be our final ruin if it is not abandoned. If you had the articles of this requisition upon the wharf, with the necessary animals to make them of any use, and forage for the animals, you could not get vessels together in two weeks to carry the whole, to say nothing of your twenty thousand men; and, having the vessels, you could not put the cargoes aboard in two weeks more. And, after all, where you are going you have no use for them. When you parted with me you had no such ideas in your mind. I know you had not, or you could not have expected to be

off so soon as you said. You must get back to something like the plan you had then, or your expedition is a failure before you start. You must be off before Congress meets. You would be better off anywhere, and especially where you are going, for not having a thousand wagons doing nothing but hauling forage to feed the animals that draw them, and taking at least two thousand men to care for the wagons and animals, who otherwise might be two thousand good soldiers. Now, dear general, do not think this is an ill-natured letter; it is the very reverse. The simple publication of this requisition would ruin you.

Very truly your friend, A. Lincoln.

The President's letter was effective, and the expedition proceeded expeditiously. Arrived at New Orleans, General Banks superseded General Benjamin F. Butler in command.

[*Private Letter.*]

Executive Mansion, March 29, 1863.

Major-General Banks.

My dear Sir: Hon. Daniel Ullman, with a commission of a brigadier-general and two or three hundred other gentlemen as officers, goes to your department and reports to you, for the purpose of raising a colored brigade. To now avail ourselves of this element of force is very important, if not indispensable. I therefore will thank you to help General Ullman forward with his undertaking as much and as rapidly as you can; and also to carry the general object beyond his particular organization if you find it practicable. The necessity of this is palpable if, as I understand, you are now unable to effect any-

thing with your present force; and which force is soon to be greatly diminished by the expiration of terms of service, as well as by ordinary causes. I shall be very glad if you will take hold of the matter in earnest. You will receive from the [*War*] Department a regular order upon this subject. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, August 5, 1863.

My dear General Banks:

Being a poor correspondent is the only apology I offer for not having sooner tendered my thanks for your very successful and very valuable military operations this year. The final stroke in opening the Mississippi never should, and I think never will, be forgotten.

Recent events in Mexico, I think, render early action in Texas more important than ever. I expect, however, the general-in-chief will address you more fully upon this subject.

Governor Boutwell read me to-day that part of your letter to him which relates to Louisiana affairs. While I very well know what I would be glad for Louisiana to do, it is quite a different thing for me to assume direction of the matter. I would be glad for her to make a new constitution recognizing the Emancipation Proclamation, and adopting emancipation in those parts of the State to which the proclamation does not apply. And while she is at it, I think it would not be objectionable for her to adopt some practical system by which the two races could gradually live themselves out of the old relation to each other, and both come out better prepared for the new. Education for young blacks should be included in the plan. After all, the power or

element of "contract" may be sufficient for this probationary period; and, by its simplicity and flexibility, may be the better.

As an anti-slavery man, I have a motive to desire emancipation which pro-slavery men do not have; but even they have strong enough reason to thus place themselves again under the shield of the Union; and to thus perpetually hedge against the recurrence of the scenes through which we are now passing.

Governor Shepley has informed me that Mr. Durant is now taking a registry, with a view to the election of a constitutional convention in Louisiana. This to me appears proper. If such convention were to ask my views, I could present little else than what I now say to you. I think the thing should be pushed forward, so that, if possible, its mature work may reach here by the meeting of Congress.

For my own part, I think I shall not, in any event, retract the Emancipation Proclamation; nor, as executive, ever return to slavery any person who is freed by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress.

If Louisiana shall send members to Congress, their admission to seats will depend, as you know, upon the respective Houses, and not upon the President.

If these views can be of any advantage in giving shape and impetus to action there, I shall be glad for you to use them prudently for that object. Of course you will confer with intelligent and trusty citizens of the State, among whom I would suggest Messrs. Flanders, Hahn, and Durant; and to each of whom I now think I may send copies of this letter.

Still, it is perhaps better to not make the letter generally public.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Indorsement.*]

Copies sent to Messrs. Flanders, Hahn, and Durant, each indorsed as follows:

The within is a copy of a letter to General Banks.

Please observe my directions to him. Do not mention the paragraph about Mexico.

A. Lincoln.

August 6, 1863.

Executive Mansion, November 5, 1863.

. . . Mr. Flanders . . . is now here, and he says nothing has yet been done [about the registry of voters]. This disappoints me bitterly; yet I do not throw blame on you or on them.

I do, however, urge both you and them to lose no more time.

Governor Shepley has special instructions from the War Department. I wish him—those gentlemen and others coöperating — without waiting for more territory, to go to work and give me a tangible nucleus which the remainder of the State may rally around as fast as it can, and which I can at once recognize and sustain as the true State government. And in that work I wish you and all under your command to give them a hearty sympathy and support.

The instruction to Governor Shepley bases the movement (and rightfully, too) upon the loyal element. Time is important. There is danger, even now, that the adverse element seeks insidi-

ously to preoccupy the ground. If a few professedly loyal men shall draw the disloyal about them, and colorably set up a State government, repudiating the Emancipation Proclamation, and reëstablishing slavery, I cannot recognize or sustain their work. I should fall powerless in the attempt. This Government in such an attitude would be a house divided against itself.

I have said, and say again, that if a new State government, acting in harmony with this Government, and consistently with general freedom, shall think best to adopt a reasonable temporary arrangement in relation to the landless and homeless freed people, I do not object; but my word is out to be for and not against them on the question of their permanent freedom. I do not insist upon such temporary arrangement, but only say such would not be objectionable to me.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, December 24, 1863.

Major-General Banks.

Yours of the sixth instant has been received and fully considered. I deeply regret to have said or done anything which could give you pain or uneasiness. I have all the while intended you to be master, as well in regard to reorganizing a State government for Louisiana, as in regard to the military matters of the department; and hence my letters on reconstruction have nearly, if not quite, all been addressed to you. My error has been that it did not occur to me that Governor Shepley or any one else would set up a claim to act independently of you; and hence I said nothing expressly upon the point.

Language has not been guarded at a point where no danger was thought of. I now tell you that in every dispute with whomsoever, you are master.

Governor Shepley was appointed to assist the commander of the department, and not to thwart him or act independently of him. Instructions have been given directly to him merely to spare you detail labor, and not to supersede your authority. This, in its liability to be misconstrued, it now seems was an error in us. But it is past. I now distinctly tell you that you are master of all, and that I wish you to take the case as you find it, and give us a free State reorganization of Louisiana in the shortest possible time. What I say here is to have a reasonable construction. I do not mean that you are to withdraw from Texas, or abandon any other military measure which you may deem important. Nor do I mean that you are to throw away available work already done for reconstruction; nor that war is to be made upon Governor Shepley, or upon any one else, unless it be found that they will not coöperate with you, in which case, and in all cases you are master while you remain in command of the department.

My thanks for your successful and valuable operations in Texas.[1]

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

On December 29, 1863, the President wrote General Banks a letter in which he said:

[1] During the preceding month General Banks had captured Brownsville, Tex., and commanded the coast between it and Galveston.

I intend you to be master in every controversy made with you. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, January 13, 1864.

Major-General Banks.

I have received two letters from you, which are duplicates each of the other, except that one bears date the 27th and the other the 30th of December. Your confidence in the practicability of constructing a free-State government speedily for Louisiana, and your zeal to accomplish it are very gratifying. It is a connection than in which the words "can" and "will" were never more precious. I am much in hope that on the authority of my letter of December 24, you have already begun the work. Whether you shall have done so or not, please, on receiving this, proceed with all possible despatch, using your own absolute discretion in all matters which may not carry you away from the conditions stated in your letters to me, nor from those of the message and proclamation of December 8. Frame orders, and fix times and places for this and that, according to your own judgment. I am much gratified to know that Mr. Dennison, the Collector at New Orleans, and who bears you this, understands your views and will give you his full and zealous coöperation. It is my wish and purpose that all others holding authority from me shall do the like; and, to spare me writing, I will thank you to make this known to them.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, January 31, 1864.

Major-General Banks.

Yours of the 22d instant is just received. In the proclamation of December 8, which contains the oath that you say some loyal people wish to avoid taking, I said: "And still further, that this proclamation is intended to present the people of the States wherein the national authority has been suspended, and loyal State governments have been subverted, a mode in and by which the national authority and loyal State governments may be reëstablished within said States, or in any of them; and while the mode presented is the best the executive can suggest with his present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable."

And speaking of this in the message [*of December 8, 1863*] I said: "Saying that reconstruction will be accepted if presented in a specified way, it is not said it will never be accepted in any other way."

These things were put into these documents on purpose that some conformity to circumstances should be admissible; and when I have, more than once, said to you in my letters that available labor already done should not be thrown away, I had in my mind the very class of cases you now mention. So you see it is not even a modification of anything I have heretofore said, when I tell you that you are at liberty to adopt any rule which shall admit to vote any unquestionably loyal free-State men and none others.

And yet I do wish they would all take the oath. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, August 9, 1864.
Major-General Banks.

I have just seen the new constitution adopted by the convention of Louisiana; and I am anxious that it shall be ratified by the people. I will thank you to let the civil officers in Louisiana, holding under me, know that this is my wish, and let me know at once who of them openly declare for the constitution, and who of them, if any, decline to so declare.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, November 26, 1864.
Major-General Banks.

I had a full conference this morning with the Secretary of War in relation to yourself. The conclusion is that it will be best for all if you proceed to New Orleans and act there in obedience to your order; and, in doing which, having continued, say, one month, if it shall then, as now, be your wish to resign, your resignation will be accepted. Please take this course.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, December 2, 1864.
Major-General Banks.

I know you are dissatisfied, which pains me very much, but I wish not to be argued with further. I entertain no abatement of confidence or friendship for you. I have told you why I cannot order General Canby from the Department of the Gulf—that he whom I must hold responsible for military results is not agreed. Yet I do believe that you, of all men, can best perform the part of advancing the new State government of Louisiana, and therefore I have

wished you to go and try, leaving it to yourself to give up the trial at the end of a month if you find it impracticable, or personally too disagreeable.

This is certainly meant in no unkindness, but I wish to avoid further struggle about it.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

R. B. Marcy.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 29, 1862. 1.20 p. m.

General R. B. Marcy.

Your despatch as to the South Anna and Ashland being seized by our forces this morning is received. Understanding these points to be on the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad, I heartily congratulate the country, and thank General McClellan and his army for their seizure. A. Lincoln.

G. A. McCall.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 31, 1862.

General McCall.

The President directs me to say to you that there can be nothing to justify a panic at Fredericksburg. He expects you to maintain your position there as becomes a soldier and a general.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

FRANZ SIGEL.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 12, 1862.

Major-General Sigel, Winchester.

Your despatches of yesterday and to-day were received. It cannot be possible that Jackson has any such reinforcement as thirty or thirty-five thousand.

McClellan telegraphs that two regiments of reinforcements were sent from Richmond to Jackson.

What necessity can there be for General Banks to fall back from Front Royal and his positions until Frémont comes up?

Does it not leave a gap for Jackson to pass through Front Royal as before?

The President directs that your forces and Banks's shall not fall back from Front Royal and their present positions until further developments.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 17, 1862.

General Sigel, Winchester.

The forces at Front Royal are there by order of the President.

When he desires their position to be changed, the order will be given by him.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

See also letter to William Cullen Bryant of May 14, 1863, and letter to Edwin M. Stanton of August 27, 1864.

Carl Schurz.

See letter to Simon Cameron of May 13, 1861.

Washington, June 16, 1862.

Brigadier-General Schurz, Mount Jackson, Virginia.

Your long letter is received. The information you give is valuable. You say it is fortunate that Frémont did not intercept Jackson; that Jackson had the superior force, and would have overwhelmed him. If this is so, how happened it that Frémont fairly fought and routed him on the 8th? Or is the account that he did fight and rout him false and fabricated? Both General Frémont and you speak of Jackson having beaten Shields. By our accounts he did not beat Shields. He had no engagement with Shields. He did meet and drive back with disaster about 2,000 of Shields's advance till they were met by an additional brigade of Shields's, when Jackson himself turned and retreated. Shields himself and more than half his force were not nearer than twenty miles to any of it. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, November 24, 1862.

General Carl Schurz.

My dear Sir: I have just received and read your letter of the 20th. The purport of it is that we lost the late elections and the Administration is failing because the war is unsuccessful, and that I must not flatter myself that I am not justly to blame for it. I certainly know that if the war fails, the Administration fails, and that I will be blamed for it, whether I deserve it or not. And I ought to be blamed if I could do

better. You think I could do better; therefore, you blame me already. I think I could not do better; therefore I blame you for blaming me. I understand you now to be willing to accept the help of men who are not Republicans, provided they have "heart in it." Agreed. I want no others. But who is to be the judge of hearts, or of "heart in it"? If I must discard my own judgment and take yours, I must also take that of others; and by the time I should reject all I should be advised to reject, I should have none left, Republicans or others—not even yourself. For be assured, my dear sir, there are men who have "heart in it" that think you are performing your part as poorly as you think I am performing mine. I certainly have been dissatisfied with the slowness of Buell and McClellan; but before I relieved them I had great fears I should not find successors to them who would do better; and I am sorry to add that I have seen little since to relieve those fears.

I do not clearly see the prospect of any more rapid movements. I fear we shall at last find out that the difficulty is in our case rather than in particular generals. I wish to disparage no one—certainly not those who sympathize with me; but I must say I need success more than I need sympathy, and that I have not seen the so much greater evidence of getting success from my sympathizers than from those who are denounced as the contrary. It does seem to me that in the field the two classes have been very much alike in what they have done and what they have failed to do. In sealing their faith with their blood, Baker and Lyon and Bohlen and Richardson, Republicans, did all that men

could do; but did they any more than Kearny and Stevens and Reno and Mansfield, none of whom were Republicans, and some at least of whom have been bitterly and repeatedly denounced to me as secession sympathizers? I will not perform the ungrateful task of comparing cases of failure.

In answer to your question, "Has it not been publicly stated in the newspapers, and apparently proved as a fact, that from the commencement of the war the enemy was continually supplied with information by some of the confidential subordinates of as important an officer as Adjutant-General Thomas?" I must say "No," as far as my knowledge extends. And I add that if you can give any tangible evidence upon the subject, I will thank you to come to this city and do so.

Very truly your friend, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, April 11, 1863.

Major-General Schurz.

My dear Sir: I cannot comply with your request to take your division away from the Army of the Potomac. General Hooker does not wish it done. I do not myself see a good reason why it should be done. The division will do itself and its officers more honor and the country more service where it is. Besides these general reasons, as I understand, the Army of the Potomac will move before these proposed changes could be conveniently made. I always wish to oblige you, but I cannot in this case.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Washington, March 13, 1864.

Major-General Schurz.

My dear Sir: Yours of February 29 reached me only four days ago; but the delay was of little consequence because I found, on feeling around, I could not invite you here without a difficulty which at least would be unpleasant, and perhaps would be detrimental to the public service. Allow me to suggest that if you wish to remain in the military service, it is very dangerous for you to get temporarily out of it; because, with a major-general once out, it is next to impossible for even the President to get him in again. With my appreciation of your ability and correct principle, of course I would be very glad to have your service for the country in the approaching political canvass; but I fear we cannot properly have it without separating you from the military.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 23, 1864.

Major-General Schurz.

My dear Sir: The letter, of which the above is a copy, was sent to you before Mr. Willman saw me, and now yours of the 19th tells me you did not receive it. I do not wish to be more specific about the difficulty of your coming to Washington. I think you can easily conjecture it.

I perceive no objection to your making a political speech when you are where one is to be made; but quite surely speaking in the North and fighting in the South at the same time are not possible; nor could I be justified to detail any officer to the political campaign during its continuance and then return him to the army.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

See also letter to Andrew Johnson of July 27, 1864.

J. W. Crisfield.

Executive Mansion, June 26, 1862.

Hon. John W. Crisfield.

My dear Sir: I have been considering the appeal made by yourself and Senator Pearce in behalf of Judge Carmichael. His charge to the Grand Jury was left with me by the senator, and on reading it I must confess I was not very favorably impressed toward the judge. The object of the charge, I understand, was to procure prosecution and punishment of some men for arresting or doing violence to some secessionists —that is, the judge was trying to help a little by giving the protection of law to those who were endeavoring to overthrow the supreme law—trying if he could find a safe place for certain men to stand on the Constitution, whilst they should stab it in another place.

But possibly I am mistaken.

The Secretary of War and I have agreed that if the judge will take the oath of allegiance usually taken in such cases, he may be discharged. Please ascertain and inform me whether he will do it. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Ambrose E. Burnside.

Ambrose E. Burnside, a West Point graduate, was treasurer of the Illinois Central Railroad at the outbreak of the war. He commanded the first troops sent out by Rhode Island, and at the battle of Bull Run acted with notable bravery. Early in 1862 he captured the North Carolina coast, and was about to take Goldsboro, an important railroad center, when he received the following telegram:

War Department, June 28, 1862.
Major-General Burnside, Newbern.

We have intelligence that General McClellan has been attacked in large force and compelled to fall back toward the James River. We are not advised of his exact condition, but the President directs that you shall send him all the reinforcements from your command to the James River that you can safely do without abandoning your own position. Let it be infantry entirely, as he said yesterday that he had cavalry enough.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 28, 1862.
General Burnside.

I think you had better go, with any reinforcements you can spare, to General McClellan.

A. Lincoln.

See letter to George B. McClellan of November 5, 1862.

On November 5, 1862, General Burnside succeeded General McClellan in command of the Army of the Potomac.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
November 25, 1862. 11.30 a. m.
Major-General Burnside, Falmouth, Virginia.

If I should be in boat off Aquia Creek at dark to-morrow (Wednesday) evening, could you, without inconvenience, meet me and pass an hour or two with me? A. Lincoln.

On November 27 General Burnside held this interview with the President. It was decided that he should

cross the Rappahannock and attack Lee in Fredericksburg. He did so, and was disastrously defeated on December 13, being compelled to withdraw over the Rappahannock.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
December 30, 1862. 3.30 p. m.

Major-General Burnside.

I have good reason for saying you must not make a general movement of the army without letting me know. A. Lincoln.

On January 5, 1863, General Burnside wrote to the President that the general officers of his command were opposed to another crossing of the Rappahannock to attack Fredericksburg, but that he had issued orders to the engineers and artillery to prepare for it. Realizing that this determination might run counter to other plans of the President of which he was ignorant, Burnside offered his resignation to relieve Lincoln of embarrassment. General Halleck replied to this letter on the 7th, endorsing the idea of the movement, if a crossing could be effected on favorable or equal terms with the enemy. "It will not do to keep your army inactive. As you yourself admit, it devolves on you to decide upon the time, place, and character of the crossing. . . . I can only advise that the attempt be made, and as early as possible."

On this letter the President made the following indorsement:

[*Indorsement.*]

January 8, 1863.

General Burnside.

I understand General Halleck has sent you a letter of which this is a copy. I approve this letter. I deplore the want of concurrence with you in opinion by your general officers, but I do not see the remedy. Be cautious, and do not

understand that the Government or country is driving you. I do not yet see how I could profit by changing the command of the Army of the Potomac; and if I did, I should not wish to do it by accepting the resignation of your commission. A. Lincoln.

[*Order Relieving General A. E. Burnside and Making Other Changes.*]

(General Orders No. 20.)
War Department, Adjutant-General's Office,
Washington, D. C., January 25, 1863.

I. The President of the United States has directed:

1st. That Major-General A. E. Burnside, at his own request, be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac.

2d. That Major-General E. V. Sumner, at his own request, be relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac.

3d. That Major-General W. B. Franklin be relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac.

4th. That Major-General J. Hooker be assigned to the command of the Army of the Potomac.

II. The officers relieved as above will report in person to the adjutant-general of the army.

By order of the Secretary of War:
E. D. Townsend,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

On March 25, 1863, General Burnside was placed in command of the Department of the Ohio, with headquarters at Cincinnati.

On April 13, 1863, General Burnside issued "Order No. 38" that "all persons . . . who commit acts for the

benefit of the enemies of our country will be tried [by martial law] as spies or traitors, and if convicted, will suffer death," and that "persons declaring sympathy with such offenses will be . . . sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends [the Rebels]." Under this order he arrested and convicted a prominent Democratic ex-Congressman of Ohio, Clement L. Vallandigham, for inciting his auditors to resist the draft.

War Department, April 29, 1863.

Major-General Ambrose E. Burnside,
Commanding Department of the Ohio, Cincinnati.

A telegram from Louisville, published in the *National Intelligencer* of this morning, contains the following paragraph:

> During the sale of a lot of negroes at the court-house this morning, the provost-marshal notified the owners that four were free under the President's proclamation. They nevertheless went on, when the matter of the four contrabands was turned over to the district judge, who will take measures to annul the sale.

The President directs me to say to you that he is much surprised to find that persons who are free under his proclamation have been suffered to be sold under any pretense whatever; and also desires me to remind you of the terms of the acts of Congress by which the fugitive negroes of rebel owners taking refuge within our lines are declared to be "captives of war." He desires you to take immediate measures to prevent any persons who, by act of Congress, are entitled to protection from the Government as "captives of war" from being returned to bondage or suffering any wrong prohibited by that act. A detailed despatch, with instructions, will be sent to you to-day. Your vigilant and earnest

attention to this subject within your department is specially requested.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

War Department, May 20, 1863.

Major-General A. E. Burnside,

Commanding Department of the Ohio, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Your despatch of three o'clock this afternoon to the Secretary of War has been received and shown to the President. He thinks the best disposition to be made of Vallandigham is to put him beyond the lines, as directed in the order transmitted to you last evening, and directs that you execute that order by sending him forward under secure guard without delay to General Rosecrans.

By order of the President:

Ed. R. S. Canby, Brigadier-General.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 29, 1863.

Major-General Burnside, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Your despatch of to-day received. When I shall wish to supersede you I will let you know. All the Cabinet regretted the necessity of arresting, for instance, Vallandigham, some perhaps doubting there was a real necessity for it; but, being done, all were for seeing you through with it. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, July 27, 1863.

Major-General Burnside, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Let me explain. In General Grant's first despatch after the fall of Vicksburg, he said, among

other things, he would send the Ninth Corps to you. Thinking it would be pleasant to you, I asked the Secretary of War to telegraph you the news. For some reasons never mentioned to us by General Grant, they have not been sent, though we have seen outside intimations that they took part in the expedition against Jackson. General Grant is a copious worker and fighter, but a very meager writer or telegrapher. No doubt he changed his purpose in regard to the Ninth Corps for some sufficient reason, but has forgotten to notify us of it. A. Lincoln.

On August 16, 1863, Burnside started for the seat of war at Chattanooga, Tenn. By rapid marches over the mountains he eluded Buckner, waiting for him at Cumberland Gap, and entered Knoxville on September 4.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, September 11, 1863. 11.30 a. m.
Major-General Burnside, Cumberland Gap.

Yours received. A thousand thanks for the late successes you have given us. We cannot allow you to resign until things shall be a little more settled in East Tennessee. If then, purely on your own account, you wish to resign, we will not further refuse you. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
September 21, 1863. 11 a. m.
General Burnside, Greenville, Tennessee.

If you are to do any good to Rosecrans it will not do to waste time with Jonesboro. It is already too late to do the most good that might

have been done, but I hope it will still do some good. Please do not lose a moment.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, September 21, 1863.

General Burnside, Knoxville, Tenn.

Go to Rosecrans with your force without a moment's delay. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*] [1]

War Department,
September 27, 1863. 8 p. m.

Major-General Burnside, Knoxville, Tennessee.

It was suggested to you, not ordered, that you should move to Rosecrans on the north side of the river, because it was believed the enemy would not permit you to join him if you should move on the south side. Hold your present positions, and send Rosecrans what you can spare, in the quickest and safest way. In the meantime hold the remainder as nearly in readiness to go to him as you can consistently with the duty it is to perform while it remains. East Tennessee can be no more than temporarily lost so long as Chattanooga is firmly held.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
September 27, 1863. 6.45 p. m.

Major-General Burnside, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Your despatch just received. My order to you meant simply that you should save Rosecrans from being crushed out, believing if he lost his

[1] This telegram was sent in place of a stinging despatch, which the President held two days, and then determined not to send.

position you could not hold East Tennessee in any event; and that if he held his position, East Tennessee was substantially safe in any event. This despatch is in no sense an order. General Halleck will answer you fully. A. Lincoln.

John A. Dix.[1]

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, June 28, 1862.

General Dix.

Communication with McClellan by White House is cut off. Strain every nerve to open communication with him by James River, or any other way you can. Report to me.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, December 22, 1862.

Major-General Dix.

Owing to extreme pressure of business, I have neglected for a week to write this note. General Busteed is with you. I bespeak for him your kindest consideration. His case is peculiar. Without much military experience, he has entered the service from purely patriotic motives. Please assign him the position best adapted to his case which may be within your power.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[1] Dix was a prominent Democratic statesman of New York, a senator from 1845 to 1849, and Secretary of the Treasury under Buchanan in 1861. While in the latter position he ordered the captain of a revenue cutter at New Orleans to bring it to New York. The captain refused, and Secretary Dix telegraphed for another man to arrest the captain and assume command, adding: "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." Dix enlisted on the first call for troops, and in July was put in command at Baltimore.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Executive Mansion, January 14, 1863.

Major-General Dix.

My dear Sir: The proclamation has been issued. We were not succeeding—at best were progressing too slowly—without it. Now that we have it, and bear all the disadvantages of it (as we do bear some in certain quarters), we must also take some benefit from it, if practicable. I therefore will thank you for your well-considered opinion whether Fortress Monroe and Yorktown, one or both, could not, in whole or in part, be garrisoned by colored troops, leaving the white forces now necessary at those places to be employed elsewhere.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

See letter to J. J. Astor and others of November 9, 1863.

In the summer of 1863, after the draft riots in New York, General Dix was transferred to that city.

[*Order.*]

Executive Mansion, May 18, 1864.

Major-General Dix, Commanding at New York.

Whereas there has been wickedly and traitorously printed and published this morning in the New York *World* and New York *Journal of Commerce*, newspapers printed and published in the city of New York, a false and spurious proclamation, purporting to be signed by the President and to be countersigned by the Secretary of State, which publication is of a treasonable nature designed to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States and to the rebels

now at war against the Government, and their aiders and abettors: you are therefore hereby commanded forthwith to arrest and imprison, in any fort or military prison in your command, the editors, proprietors, and publishers of the aforesaid newspapers, and all such persons as, after public notice has been given of the falsehood of said publication, print and publish the same with intent to give aid and comfort to the enemy; and you will hold the persons so arrested in close custody until they can be brought to trial before a military commission for their offense. You will also take possession by military force, of the printing establishments of the New York *World* and *Journal of Commerce,* and hold the same until further orders, and prevent any further publication therefrom. A. Lincoln,

President of the United States.

By the President:

William H. Seward, Secretary of State.

GOVERNORS OF MAINE, NEW HAMPSHIRE, VERMONT, CONNECTICUT, NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, MICHIGAN, TENNESSEE, MISSOURI, INDIANA, OHIO, MINNESOTA, ILLINOIS, WISCONSIN, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE MILITARY BOARD OF KENTUCKY.

On June 28 the above State executives, inspired by the President, asked the President to "call upon the several States for such number of men as may be required to fill up all military organizations now in the field, and add to the armies heretofore organized such additional number of men as may, in [his] judgment, be necessary to garrison and hold all the numerous cities and military positions that have been captured by our armies, and to speedily crush the rebellion that still

exists in several of our Southern States, thus practically restoring to the civilized world our great and good government." In reply the President wrote as follows:

Executive Mansion, July 1, 1862.

Gentlemen: Fully concurring in the wisdom of the views expressed to me in so patriotic a manner by you, in the communication of the twenty-eighth day of June, I have decided to call into the service an additional force of 300,000 men. I suggest and recommend that the troops should be chiefly of infantry. The quota of your State would be ——. I trust that they may be enrolled without delay, so as to bring this unnecessary and injurious civil war to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion. An order fixing the quotas of the respective States will be issued by the War Department to-morrow.

Abraham Lincoln.

[*Circular Letter. Private and Confidential.*]

War Department, July 3, 1862. 10.30 a. m.

Governor Washburn, Maine [and other governors].

I should not want the half of 300,000 new troops if I could have them now. If I had 50,000 additional troops here now, I believe I could substantially close the war in two weeks. But time is everything, and if I get 50,000 new men in a month, I shall have lost 20,000 old ones during the same month, having gained only 30,000, with the difference between old and new troops still against me. The quicker you send, the fewer you will have to send. Time is everything. Please act in view of this. The enemy

having given up Corinth, it is not wonderful that he is thereby enabled to check us for a time at Richmond. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Andrew H. Foote.

[*Message to Congress.*]

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I most cordially recommend that Captain Andrew H. Foote, of the United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks of Congress for his eminent services in organizing the flotilla on the western waters, and for his gallantry at Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Island Number Ten, and at various other places, whilst in command of the naval forces, embracing a period of nearly ten months. Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., July 1, 1862.

Naval Officers.

[*Message to Congress.*]

To the Senate and House of Representatives: I recommend that the thanks of Congress be given to the following officers of the United States Navy:

Captain John L. Lardner, for meritorious conduct at the battle of Port Royal, and distinguished services on the coast of the United States against the enemy.

Captain Charles Henry Davis, for distinguished services in conflict with the enemy at Fort Pillow, at Memphis, and for successful operations at other points in the waters of the Mississippi River.

Commander John A. Dahlgren, for distin-

guished services in the line of his profession, improvements in ordnance, and zealous and efficient labors in the ordnance branch of the service.

Commander Stephen C. Rowan, for distinguished services in the waters of North Carolina, and particularly in the capture of Newbern, being in chief command of the naval forces.

Commander David D. Porter, for distinguished services in the conception and preparation of the means used for the capture of the forts below New Orleans, and for highly meritorious conduct in the management of the mortar flotilla during the bombardment of Forts Jackson and St. Philip.

Captain Silas H. Stringham, now on the retired list, for distinguished services in the capture of Forts Hatteras and Clark.

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., July 11, 1862.

J. T. Boyle.

On July 13, 1862, the President telegraphed General J. T. Boyle at Louisville, Ky., that "we cannot venture to order troops from General Buell . . . he may be attacked himself," and that he should call on General Halleck, "who commands, and whose business it is to understand and care for the whole field."

On September 12, 1862, the President again telegraphed General Boyle in reply to further importunity: "For us to control him [General Halleck] there on the ground would be a babel of confusion which would be utterly ruinous. Where do you understand Buell to be, and what is he doing? A. Lincoln.

On February 1, 1863, President Lincoln wrote to General Boyle enclosing his endorsement of Senator Powell's request that moneys collected from citizens in

certain Kentucky counties be refunded them. Of this collection the President says: "This course of procedure, though just and politic in some cases, is so liable to gross abuse as to do great injustice in some others, and give the Government immense trouble."

Cornelius Vanderbilt.

On July 17, 1862, the President informed Congress by message that Cornelius Vanderbilt, of New York, had "gratuitously presented to the United States the ocean-steamer *Vanderbilt*, by many considered the finest steamer in the world. She has ever since been, and still is, doing valuable service to the Government. For the patriotic act in making this magnificent and valuable present to the country, I recommend that some suitable acknowledgment be made."

Cuthbert Bullitt.

[*Private.*]

Washington, D. C., July 28, 1862.

Cuthbert Bullitt, Esq., New Orleans, Louisiana.

Sir: The copy of a letter addressed to yourself by Mr. Thomas J. Durant has been shown to me. The writer appears to be an able, a dispassionate, and an entirely sincere man. The first part of the letter is devoted to an effort to show that the secession ordinance of Louisiana was adopted against the will of a majority of the people. This is probably true, and in that fact may be found some instruction. Why did they allow the ordinance to go into effect? Why did they not assert themselves? Why stand passive and allow themselves to be trodden down by a minority? Why did they not hold popular meetings and have a convention of their own to express and enforce the true sentiment of the State? If preorganization was against

them then, why not do this now that the United States army is present to protect them? The paralysis—the dead palsy—of the Government in this whole struggle is, that this class of men will do nothing for the Government, nothing for themselves, except demanding that the Government shall not strike its open enemies lest they be struck by accident!

Mr. Durant complains that in various ways the relation of master and slave is disturbed by the presence of our army, and he considers it particularly vexatious that this, in part, is done under cover of an act of Congress, while constitutional guaranties are suspended on the plea of military necessity. The truth is, that what is done and omitted about slaves is done and omitted on the same military necessity. It is a military necessity to have men and money; and we can get neither in sufficient numbers or amounts if we keep from or drive from our lines slaves coming to them. Mr. Durant cannot be ignorant of the pressure in this direction, nor of my efforts to hold it within bounds till he and such as he shall have time to help themselves.

I am not posted to speak understandingly on all the police regulations of which Mr. Durant complains. If experience shows any one of them to be wrong, let them be set right. I think I can perceive in the freedom of trade which Mr. Durant urges that he would relieve both friends and enemies from the pressure of the blockade. By this he would serve the enemy more effectively than the enemy is able to serve himself. I do not say or believe that to serve the enemy is the purpose of Mr. Durant, or that he is conscious of any purpose other than na-

tional and patriotic ones. Still, if there were a class of men who, having no choice of sides in the contest, were anxious only to have quiet and comfort for themselves while it rages, and to fall in with the victorious side at the end of it without loss to themselves, their advice as to the mode of conducting the contest would be precisely such as his is. He speaks of no duty—apparently thinks of none—resting upon Union men. He even thinks it injurious to the Union cause that they should be restrained in trade and passage without taking sides. They are to touch neither a sail nor a pump, but to be merely passengers—deadheads at that—to be carried snug and dry throughout the storm, and safely landed right side up. Nay, more: even a mutineer is to go untouched, lest these sacred passengers receive an accidental wound. Of course the rebellion will never be suppressed in Louisiana if the professed Union men there will neither help to do it nor permit the Government to do it without their help. Now, I think the true remedy is very different from what is suggested by Mr. Durant. It does not lie in rounding the rough angles of the war, but in removing the necessity for the war. The people of Louisiana who wish protection to person and property have but to reach forth their hands and take it. Let them in good faith reinaugurate the national authority, and set up a State government conforming thereto under the Constitution. They know how to do it, and can have the protection of the army while doing it. The army will be withdrawn so soon as such State government can dispense with its presence; and the people of the State can then, upon the old constitutional terms, govern them-

selves to their own liking. This is very simple and easy.

If they will not do this—if they prefer to hazard all for the sake of destroying the Government, it is for them to consider whether it is probable I will surrender the Government to save them from losing all. If they decline what I suggest, you scarcely need to ask what I will do. What would you do in my position? Would you drop the war where it is? Or would you prosecute it in future with elder-stalk squirts charged with rose-water? Would you deal lighter blows rather than heavier ones? Would you give up the contest, leaving any available means unapplied? I am in no boastful mood. I shall not do more than I can, and I shall do all I can, to save the Government, which is my sworn duty as well as my personal inclination. I shall do nothing in malice. What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

August Belmont.

July 31, 1862.

Dear Sir: You send to Mr. W—— an extract from a letter written at New Orleans the 9th instant, which is shown to me. You do not give the writer's name; but plainly he is a man of ability, and probably of some note. He says: "The time has arrived when Mr. Lincoln must take a decisive course. Trying to please everybody, he will satisfy nobody. A vacillating policy in matters of importance is the very worst. Now is the time, if ever, for honest men who love their country to rally to its support. Why

will not the North say officially that it wishes for the restoration of the Union as it was?"

And so, it seems, this is the point on which the writer thinks I have no policy. Why will he not read and understand what I have said?

The substance of the very declaration he desires is in the inaugural, in each of the two regular messages to Congress, and in many, if not all, the minor documents issued by the Executive since the inauguration.

Broken eggs cannot be mended; but Louisiana has nothing to do now but to take her place in the Union as it was, barring the already broken eggs. The sooner she does so, the smaller will be the amount of that which will be past mending. This Government cannot much longer play a game in which it stakes all, and its enemies stake nothing. Those enemies must understand that they cannot experiment for ten years trying to destroy the Government, and if they fail still come back into the Union unhurt. If they expect in any contingency to ever have the Union as it was, I join with the writer in saying, "Now is the time."

How much better it would have been for the writer to have gone at this, under the protection of the army at New Orleans, than to have sat down in a closet writing complaining letters northward! Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Count Gasparin.

Executive Mansion, August 4, 1862.

To Count A. de Gasparin.

Dear Sir: Your very acceptable letter, dated Orbe, Canton de Vaud, Switzerland, 18th of

July, 1862, is received. The moral effect was the worst of the affair before Richmond, and that has run its course downward. We are now at a stand, and shall soon be rising again, as we hope. I believe it is true that, in men and material, the enemy suffered more than we in that series of conflicts, while it is certain he is less able to bear it.

With us every soldier is a man of character, and must be treated with more consideration than is customary in Europe. Hence our great army, for slighter causes than could have prevailed there, has dwindled rapidly, bringing the necessity for a new call earlier than was anticipated. We shall easily obtain the new levy, however. Be not alarmed if you shall learn that we shall have resorted to a draft for part of this. It seems strange even to me, but it is true, that the Government is now pressed to this course by a popular demand. Thousands who wish not to personally enter the service, are nevertheless anxious to pay and send substitutes, provided they can have assurance that unwilling persons, similarly situated, will be compelled to do likewise. Besides this, volunteers mostly choose to enter newly forming regiments, while drafted men can be sent to fill up the old ones, wherein man for man they are quite doubly as valuable.

You ask, "Why is it that the North with her great armies so often is found with inferiority of numbers face to face with the armies of the South?" While I painfully know the fact, a military man—which I am not—would better answer the question. The fact, I know, has not been overlooked; and I suppose the cause of its

continuance lies mainly in the other facts that the enemy holds the interior and we the exterior lines; and that we operate where the people convey information to the enemy, while he operates where they convey none to us.

I have received the volume and letter which you did me the honor of addressing to me, and for which please accept my sincere thanks. You are much admired in America for the ability of your writings, and much loved for your generosity to us and your devotion to liberal principles generally.

You are quite right as to the importance to us, for its bearing upon Europe, that we should achieve military successes, and the same is true for us at home as well as abroad. Yet it seems unreasonable that a series of successes, extending through half a year, and clearing more than 100,000 square miles of country, should help us so little, while a single half defeat should hurt us so much. But let us be patient.

I am very happy to know that my course has not conflicted with your judgment of propriety and policy. I can only say that I have acted upon my best convictions, without selfishness or malice, and that by the help of God I shall continue to do so.

Please be assured of my highest respect and esteem. A. Lincoln.

JOHN M. CLAY.

Executive Mansion, August 9, 1862.

Mr. John M. Clay.

My dear Sir: The snuff-box you sent, with the accompanying note, was received yesterday. Thanks for this memento of your great and pa-

triotic father. Thanks also for the assurance that, in these days of dereliction, you remain true to his principles. In the concurrent sentiment of your venerable mother, so long the partner of his bosom and his honors, and lingering now where he was but for the call to rejoin him where he is, I recognize his voice, speaking, as it ever spoke, for the Union, the Constitution, and the freedom of mankind.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

ANDREW G. CURTIN.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, August 12, 1862.

Governor Curtin, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

It is very important for some regiments to arrive here at once. What lack you from us? What can we do to expedite matters? Answer.

A. Lincoln.

War Department, September 11, 1862.

His Excellency Andrew G. Curtin, Governor of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Sir: The application made to me by your adjutant-general for authority to call out the militia of the State of Pennsylvania has received careful consideration. It is my anxious desire to afford, as far as possible, the means and power of the Federal Government to protect the State of Pennsylvania from invasion by the rebel forces;[1] and since, in your judgment, the militia of the State are required, and have been called upon by you, to organize for home defense and protection, I

[1] Lee had crossed the Potomac September 4-7.

sanction the call that you have made, and will receive them into the service and pay of the United States to the extent they can be armed, equipped, and usefully employed. . . .

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
September 12, 1862. 10.35 a. m.

Hon. Andrew G. Curtin, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Your despatch asking for 80,000 disciplined troops to be sent to Pennsylvania is received. Please consider we have not to exceed 80,000 disciplined troops, properly so called, this side of the mountains; and most of them, with many of the new regiments, are now close in the rear of the enemy supposed to be invading Pennsylvania. Start half of them to Harrisburg, and the enemy will turn upon and beat the remaining half, and then reach Harrisburg before the part going there, and beat it too when it comes. The best possible security for Pennsylvania is putting the strongest force possible in rear of the enemy.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, April 13, 1863.

Hon. Andrew G. Curtin.

My dear Sir: If, after the expiration of your present term as Governor of Pennsylvania, I shall continue in office here, and you shall desire to go abroad, you can do so with one of the first-class missions. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, April 28, 1863.

Hon. A. G. Curtin, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

I do not think the people of Pennsylvania should be uneasy about an invasion. Doubtless a small force of the enemy is flourishing about in the northern part of Virginia, on the "skew-horn" principle,[1] on purpose to divert us in another quarter. I believe it is nothing more. We think we have adequate force close after them.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, May 1, 1863.

Governor Curtin, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

The whole disposable force at Baltimore and elsewhere in reach have already been sent after the enemy which alarms you. The worst thing the enemy could do for himself would be to weaken himself before Hooker, and therefore it is safe to believe he is not doing it; and the best thing he could do for himself would be to get us so scared as to bring part of Hooker's force away, and that is just what he is trying to do.

I will telegraph you in the morning about calling out the militia. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, May 2, 1863.

Governor Curtin, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

General Halleck tells me he has a despatch from General Schenck this morning, informing him that our forces have joined, and that the

[1] *I. e.*, twisted horn, or crooked, devious.

enemy menacing Pennsylvania will have to fight or run to-day. I hope I am not less anxious to do my duty to Pennsylvania than yourself, but I really do not yet see the justification for incurring the trouble and expense of calling out the militia. I shall keep watch, and try to do my duty. A. Lincoln.

P. S. Our forces are exactly between the enemy and Pennsylvania.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., October 17, 1864.

Governor A. G. Curtin, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Your information is erroneous. No part of Sheridan's force has left him, except by expiration of terms of service. I think there is not much danger of a raid into Pennsylvania.

A. Lincoln.

George P. Fisher.

On August 16, 1862, the President wrote to George P. Fisher in regard to various propositions made to the War Department. The letter ended as follows:

I do hope you will not indulge a thought which will admit of your saying the Administration turns you over to the fury of your enemies.

You certainly know I wish you success as much as you can wish it yourself.

Your friend, as ever, A. Lincoln.

GILLET F. WATSON.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, August 21, 1862.

Gillet F. Watson, Williamsburg, Va.

Your telegram in regard to the lunatic asylum has been received. It is certainly a case of difficulty, but if you cannot remain, I cannot conceive who under my authority can. Remain as long as you safely can, and provide as well as you can for the poor inmates of the institution.

A. Lincoln.

HORACE GREELEY.

Executive Mansion, August 22, 1862.

Hon. Horace Greeley.

Dear Sir: I have just read yours of the 19th, addressed to myself through the *New York Tribune*. If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not, now and here, controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not, now and here, argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery,

I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

Yours, A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., July 9, 1864.

Hon. Horace Greeley.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 7th, with inclosures, received.[1]

If you can find any person, anywhere, professing to have any proposition of Jefferson Davis in writing, for peace, embracing the restoration

[1] This was in reference to a proposition of Clement C. Clay, Jacob Thompson, *et al.*, to negotiate peace with the Confederacy.

of the Union and abandonment of slavery, whatever else it embraces, say to him he may come to me with you; and that if he really brings such proposition, he shall at the least have safe conduct with the paper (and without publicity, if he chooses) to the point where you shall have met him. The same if there be two or more persons. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Letter Carried by Major John Hay.*]

Executive Mansion, July 15, 1864.

Hon. Horace Greeley.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 13th is just received, and I am disappointed that you have not already reached here with those commissioners, if they would consent to come on being shown my letter to you of the 9th instant. Show that and this to them, and if they will come on the terms stated in the former, bring them. I not only intend a sincere effort for peace, but I intend that you shall be a personal witness that it is made. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, August 6, 1864.

Hon. Horace Greeley, New York.

Yours to Major Hay about publication of our correspondence received. With the suppression of a few passages in your letters in regard to which I think you and I would not disagree, I should be glad of the publication. Please come over and see me. A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, August 9, 1864.

Hon. Horace Greeley.

Dear Sir: Herewith is a full copy of the correspondence, and which I have had privately printed, but not made public. The parts of your letters which I wish suppressed are only those which, as I think, give too gloomy an aspect to our cause, and those which present the carrying of elections as a motive of action. I have, as you see, drawn a red pencil over the parts I wish suppressed.

As to the Alexander H. Stephens matter, so much pressed by you, I can only say that he sought to come to Washington in the name of the "Confederate States," in a vessel of "the Confederate States navy," and with no pretense even that he would bear any proposal for peace; but with language showing that his mission would be military, and not civil or diplomatic. Nor has he at any time since pretended that he had terms of peace, so far as I know or believe. On the contrary, Jefferson Davis has, in the most formal manner, declared that Stephens had no terms of peace. I thought we could not afford to give this quasi-acknowledgment of the independence of the Confederacy, in a case where there was not even an intimation of anything for our good. Still, as the parts of your letters relating to Stephens contain nothing worse than a questioning of my action, I do not ask a suppression of those parts.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

See also correspondence with Clement C. Clay.

Washington Talcott.

Executive Mansion, August 27, 1862.

Hon. Washington Talcott.

My dear Sir: I have determined to appoint you collector. I now have a very special request to make of you, which is, that you will make no war upon Mr. Washburne, who is also my friend, and of longer standing than yourself. I will even be obliged if you can do something for him if occasion presents.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Note of Introduction.*]

The Secretary of the Treasury and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue will please see Mr. Talcott, one of the best men there is, and, if any difference, one they would like better than they do me. A. Lincoln.

August 18, 1862.

Alexander Ramsey.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, August 27, 1862.

Governor Ramsey, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Yours received. Attend to the Indians. If the draft cannot proceed, of course it will not proceed. Necessity knows no law. The Government cannot extend the time. A. Lincoln.

THOMAS WEBSTER.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, September 9, 1862.

Thomas Webster, Philadelphia.

Your despatch received, and referred to General Halleck, who must control the questions presented. While I am not surprised at your anxiety, I do not think you are in any danger. If half our troops were in Philadelphia, the enemy could take it, because he would not fear to leave the other half in his rear; but with the whole of them here, he dares not leave them in his rear. A. Lincoln.

ALEXANDER HENRY.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, September 12, 1862.

Hon. Alexander Henry, Philadelphia.

Yours of to-day received. General Halleck has made the best provision he can for generals in Pennsylvania. Please do not be offended when I assure you that in my confident belief Philadelphia is in no danger. Governor Curtin has just telegraphed me:

> I have advices that Jackson is crossing the Potomac at Williamsport, and probably the whole rebel army will be drawn from Maryland.

At all events, Philadelphia is more than 150 miles from Hagerstown, and could not be reached by the rebel army in ten days, if no hindrance was interposed. A. Lincoln.

Jesse K. Dubois.

On September 15, 1862, the President wrote his friend Dubois in Springfield, Ill., a strangely optimistic anticipation of the not very decisive victory of Antietam, which did not take place until September 17:

I now consider it safe to say that General McClellan has gained a great victory over the great rebel army in Maryland, between Fredericktown and Hagerstown. He is now pursuing the flying foe.

Had McClellan attacked Lee on the 15th, before the Confederate forces were united, as Lincoln expected he would, it is the opinion of military experts that he would have driven the invader back with a crushing defeat which might have brought the war to an early termination.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., July 11, 1863. 9 a. m.
Hon. J. K. Dubois, Springfield, Ill.

It is certain that after three days' fighting at Gettysburg, Lee withdrew and made for the Potomac; that he found the river so swollen as to prevent his crossing; that he is still this side, near Hagerstown and Williamsport, preparing to defend himself; and that Meade is close upon him, and preparing to attack him, heavy skirmishing having occurred nearly all day yesterday.

I am more than satisfied with what has happened north of the Potomac so far, and am anxious and hopeful for what is to come.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram in Cipher.*]

Washington, September 13, 1863.

Hon. J. K. Dubois, Hon. O. M. Hatch.

What nation do you desire General Allen to be made quartermaster-general of? This nation already has a quartermaster-general.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, September 22, 1863.

Hon. O. M. Hatch, Hon. J. K. Dubois, Springfield, Ill.

Your letter is just received. The particular form of my despatch was jocular, which I supposed you gentlemen knew me well enough to understand. General Allen is considered here as a very faithful and capable officer, and one who would be at least thought of for quartermaster-general if that office were vacant.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, November 15, 1864.

Hon. Jesse K. Dubois, Springfield, Illinois.

. . . You say: "State gone 25,000." Which way did it go? How stand the members of Congress and the other officers? A. Lincoln.

Edward Everett.

[*Letter of Introduction.*]

Executive Mansion, September 24, 1862.

Whom it May Concern: Hon. Edward Everett goes to Europe shortly. His reputation and the present condition of our country are such that his visit there is sure to attract notice, and

may be misconstrued. I therefore think fit to say that he bears no mission from this Government; and yet no gentleman is better able to correct misunderstandings in the minds of foreigners in regard to American affairs.

While I commend him to the consideration of those whom he may meet, I am quite conscious that he could better introduce me than I him in Europe. Abraham Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, November 20, 1863.

Hon. Edward Everett.

My dear Sir: Your kind note of to-day is received. In our respective parts yesterday, you could not have been excused to make a short address, nor I a long one. I am pleased to know that, in your judgment, the little I did say was not entirely a failure. Of course I knew Mr. Everett would not fail, and yet, while the whole discourse was eminently satisfactory, and will be of great value, there were passages in it which transcended my expectations. The point made against the theory of the General Government being only an agency whose principals are the States, was new to me, and, as I think, is one of the best arguments for the national supremacy. The tribute to our noble women for their angel ministering to the suffering soldiers surpasses in its way, as do the subjects of it, whatever has gone before.

Our sick boy,[1] for whom you kindly inquire, we hope is past the worst.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

[1] Thomas ("Tad") Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, February 4, 1864.
Hon. Edward Everett.

My dear Sir: Yours of January 30 was received four days ago, and since then the address mentioned has arrived. Thank you for it.

I send herewith the manuscript of my remarks at Gettysburg, which, with my note to you of November 20, you are at liberty to use for the benefit of our soldiers, as you have requested.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

John Ross.

Executive Mansion, September 25, 1862.
John Ross, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation.

Sir: Your letter of the 16th instant was received two days ago. In the multitude of cares claiming my constant attention, I have been unable to examine and determine the exact treaty relations between the United States and the Cherokee Nation. Neither have I been able to investigate and determine the exact state of facts claimed by you as constituting a failure of treaty obligations on our part, and excusing the Cherokee Nation for making a treaty with a portion of the people of the United States in open rebellion against the Government thereof.

This letter, therefore, must not be understood to decide anything upon these questions. I shall, however, cause a careful investigation of them to be made. Meanwhile the Cherokee people remaining practically loyal to the Federal Union will receive all the protection which can be given them consistently with the duty of the Government to the whole country. I sincerely hope the

Cherokee Nation may not again be overrun by the enemy, and I shall do all I consistently can to prevent it.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

See letter to S. R. Curtis of October 10, 1862.

John J. Key.

Executive Mansion, September 26, 1862.

Major John J. Key.

Sir: I am informed that in answer to the question, "Why was not the rebel army bagged immediately after the battle near Sharpsburg?" propounded to you by Major Levi C. Turner, judge-advocate, etc., you answered, "That is not the game. The object is that neither army shall get much advantage of the other, that both shall be kept in the field till they are exhausted, when we will make a compromise and save slavery." I shall be very happy if you will, within twenty-four hours from the receipt of this, prove to me by Major Turner that you did not, either literally or in substance, make the answer stated.

Yours, A. Lincoln.

[*Indorsement.*]

Copy delivered to Major Key at 10.25 a. m., September 27, 1862. John Hay.

At about eleven o'clock a. m., September 27, 1862, Major Key and Major Turner appear before me. Major Turner says: "As I remember it, the conversation was: I asked the question why we did not bag them after the battle of Sharpsburg. Major Key's reply was, 'That was not the game; that we should tire the rebels out

and ourselves. That that was the only way the Union could be preserved. We must come together fraternally, and slavery be saved.'" On cross-examination Major Turner says he has frequently heard Major Key converse in regard to the present troubles, and never heard him utter a sentiment unfavorable to the maintenance of the Union. He has never uttered anything which he (Major T.) would call disloyalty. The particular conversation detailed was a private one. A. Lincoln.

[*Indorsement.*]

In my view it is wholly inadmissible for any gentleman holding a military commission from the United States to utter such sentiments as Major Key is within proved to have done. Therefore let Major John J. Key be forthwith dismissed from the military service of the United States. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, November 24, 1862.

Major John J. Key.

Dear Sir: A bundle of letters, including one from yourself, was early last week handed me by General Halleck, as I understood at your request.

I sincerely sympathize with you in the death of your brave and noble son.

In regard to my dismissal of yourself from the military service, it seems to me you misunderstand me. I did not charge, or intend to charge, you with disloyalty.

I had been brought to fear that there was a class of officers in the army, not very inconsiderable in numbers, who were playing a game

to not beat the enemy when they could, on some peculiar notion as to the proper way of saving the Union; and when you were proved to me, in your own presence, to have avowed yourself in favor of that "game," and did not attempt to controvert the proof, I dismissed you as an example and a warning to that supposed class.

I bear you no ill will, and I regret that I could not have the example without wounding you personally. But can I now, in view of the public interest, restore you to the service, by which the army would understand that I indorse and approve that game myself? If there was any doubt of your having made the avowal, the case would be different. But when it was proved to me, in your presence, you did not deny or attempt to deny it, but confirmed it, in my mind, by attempting to sustain the position by argument.

I am really sorry for the pain the case gives you; but I do not see how, consistently with duty, I can change it. Yours, etc., A. Lincoln.

[*Indorsement.*]

The within, as appears, was written some time ago. On full reconsideration, I cannot find sufficient ground to change the conclusion therein arrived at. A. Lincoln.

December 27, 1862.

Hannibal Hamlin.

[*Strictly Private.*]

Executive Mansion, September 28, 1862.

Hon. Hannibal Hamlin.

My dear Sir: Your kind letter of the 25th is just received. It is known to some that while I hope something from the proclamation,[1] my expectations are not as sanguine as are those of some friends. The time for its effect southward has not come; but northward the effect should be instantaneous.

It is six days old, and while commendation in newspapers and by distinguished individuals is all that a vain man could wish, the stocks have declined, and troops come forward more slowly than ever. This, looked soberly in the face, is not very satisfactory. We have fewer troops in the field at the end of the six days than we had at the beginning—the attrition among the old outnumbering the addition by the new. The North responds to the proclamation sufficiently in breath; but breath alone kills no rebels.

I wish I could write more cheerfully; nor do I thank you the less for the kindness of your letter. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, October 29, 1863.

His Excellency H. Hamlin, Vice-President.

My dear Sir: The above act of Congress[2] was

[1] Emancipation Proclamation, issued September 22, 1862.

[2] To Regulate the Duties of the Clerk of the House of Representatives in Preparing for the Organization of the House. It provided that the clerk should place on the roll only those members whose credentials indicated that they had been elected in accordance with the laws of their respective States, or of the United States.

passed, as I suppose, to exclude improper applicants from seats in the House of Representatives, and there is danger now that it will be used to exclude proper ones. The attempt will be made, if at all, upon the members of those States whose delegations are entirely, or by a majority, Union men, and of which your State is one.

I suppose your members already have the usual certificates—which let them bring on. I suggest that for greater caution, yourself, the two senators, Messrs. Fessenden and Morrill, and the Governor consider this matter, and that the Governor make out an additional certificate, or set of certificates, in the form on the other half of this sheet, and still another, if on studying the law you gentlemen shall be able to frame one which will give additional security; and bring the whole with you, to be used if found necessary. Let it all be done quietly. The members of Congress themselves need not know of it.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Mrs. Eliza P. Gurney.

Executive Mansion, September 4, 1864.

Eliza P. Gurney.

My esteemed Friend: I have not forgotten—probably never shall forget—the very impressive occasion when yourself and friends visited me on a Sabbath forenoon two years ago. Nor has your kind letter, written nearly a year later, ever been forgotten. In all it has been your purpose to strengthen my reliance on God. I am much indebted to the good Christian people of the country for their constant prayers and consolations; and to no one of them more than to your-

self. The purposes of the Almighty are perfect, and must prevail, though we erring mortals may fail to accurately perceive them in advance. We hoped for a happy termination of this terrible war long before this; but God knows best, and has ruled otherwise. We shall yet acknowledge His wisdom, and our own error therein. Meanwhile we must work earnestly in the best lights he gives us, trusting that so working still conduces to the great ends He ordains. Surely He intends some great good to follow this mighty convulsion, which no mortal could make, and no mortal could stay. Your people, the Friends, have had, and are having, a very great trial. On principle and faith opposed to both war and oppression, they can only practically oppose oppression by war. In this hard dilemma some have chosen one horn, and some the other. For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds, I have done, and shall do, the best I could and can, in my own conscience, under my oath to the law. That you believe this I doubt not; and, believing it, I shall still receive for our country and myself your earnest prayers to our Father in heaven.

Your sincere friend, A. Lincoln.

Edward Stanley.

On September 29, 1862, the President wrote Edward Stanley approbation of his course as military governor of North Carolina, and asking him to have congressional elections held in that State before January. "It is my sincere wish that North Carolina may again govern herself conformably to the Constitution of the United States."

Thomas H. Clay.

War Department, October 8, 1862.
Thomas H. Clay, Cincinnati, Ohio.

You cannot have reflected seriously when you ask that I shall order General Morgan's command to Kentucky as a favor because they have marched from Cumberland Gap. The precedent established by it would evidently break up the whole army. Buell's old troops, now in pursuit of Bragg, have done more hard marching recently; and, in fact, if you include marching and fighting, there are scarcely any old troops east or west of the mountains that have not done as hard service. I sincerely wish war was an easier and pleasanter business than it is; but it does not admit of holidays. On Morgan's command, where it is now sent, as I understand, depends the question whether the enemy will get to the Ohio River in another place. A. Lincoln.

Ulysses S. Grant.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., October 8, 1862.
Major-General Grant.

I congratulate you and all concerned in your recent battles and victories.[1] How does it all sum up? I especially regret the death of General Hackleman, and am very anxious to know the condition of General Oglesby, who is an intimate personal friend. A. Lincoln.

[1] On July 23, 1862, Grant was assigned to the command of the Department of the Tennessee. On September 19 and 20, General Rosecrans, his subordinate, defeated General Sterling Price at Iuka, and on October 3 and 4 General Van Dorn at Corinth.

Headquarters of the Army,
Washington, January 21, 1863.

Major-General Grant, Memphis.

General: The President has directed that so much of Arkansas as you may desire to control be temporarily attached to your department. This will give you control of both banks of the river.

In your operations down the Mississippi you must not rely too confidently upon any direct coöperation of General Banks and the lower flotilla, as it is possible that they may not be able to pass or reduce Port Hudson. They, however, will do everything in their power to form a junction with you at Vicksburg. If they should not be able to effect this, they will at least occupy a portion of the enemy's forces, and prevent them from reinforcing Vicksburg. I hope, however, that they will do still better and be able to join you.

It may be proper to give you some explanation of the revocation of your order expelling all Jews from your department. The President has no objection to your expelling traitors and Jew peddlers, which I suppose, was the object of your orders; but as it in terms proscribed an entire religious class, some of whom are fighting in our ranks, the President deemed it necessary to revoke it.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
H. W. Halleck, General-in-chief.

See letter to Thomas Knox of March 20, 1863.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, June 2, 1863.

Major-General Grant,

Vicksburg, via Memphis.

Are you in communication with General Banks? Is he coming toward you or going farther off? Is there or has there been anything to hinder his coming directly to you by water from Alexandria? A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, July 13, 1863.

Major-General Grant.

My dear General: I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I wish to say a word further. When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg, I thought you should do what you finally did—march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below; and I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition and the like could succeed. When you got below and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf, and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks, and when you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make the personal acknowledgment that you were right and I was wrong. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

See letter to Ambrose E. Burnside of July 27, 1863.

Executive Mansion, August 9, 1863.

My dear General Grant:

I see by a despatch of yours that you incline quite strongly toward an expedition against Mobile. This would appear tempting to me also, were it not that in view of recent events in Mexico I am greatly impressed with the importance of reëstablishing the national authority in Western Texas as soon as possible. I am not making an order, however; that I leave, for the present at least, to the general-in-chief.

A word about another subject. General Thomas has gone again to the Mississippi Valley, with the view of raising colored troops. I have no reason to doubt that you are doing what you reasonably can upon the same subject. I believe it is a resource which if vigorously applied now will soon close the contest. It works doubly, weakening the enemy and strengthening us. We were not fully ripe for it, until the river was opened. Now, I think at least one hundred thousand can and ought to be rapidly organized along its shores, relieving all white troops to serve elsewhere. Mr. Dana understands you as believing that the Emancipation Proclamation has helped some in your military operations. I am very glad if this is so.

Did you receive a short letter from me dated the thirteenth of July?

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

See letter to John A. McClernand of August 12, 1863.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, December 8, 1863.

Major-General Grant.

Understanding that your lodgment at Chattanooga and Knoxville is now secure, I wish to tender you, and all under your command, my more than thanks, my profoundest gratitude, for the skill, courage, and perseverance with which you and they, over so great difficulties, have effected that important object. God bless you all!

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, December 19, 1863.

General Grant, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

The Indiana delegation in Congress, or at least a large part of them, are very anxious that General Milroy shall enter active service again, and I share in this feeling. He is not a difficult man to satisfy—sincerity and courage being his strong traits. Believing in our cause, and wanting to fight for it, is the whole matter with him. Could you, without embarrassment, assign him a place, if directed to report to you?

See letters to Governor Thomas E. Bramlette of January 6 and January 17, 1864.

[*Order.*]

Executive Mansion, March 10, 1864.

Under the authority of an act of Congress to revive the grade of lieutenant-general in the United States Army, approved February 29, 1864, Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant,

United States Army, is assigned to the command of the Armies of the United States.

Abraham Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 10, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant, Army of the Potomac.

Mrs. Lincoln invites yourself and General Meade to dine with us Saturday evening. Please notify him, and answer whether you can be with us at that time. A. Lincoln.

[*Private Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, March 15, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant, Nashville, Tenn.

General McPherson having been assigned to the command of a department, could not General Frank Blair, without difficulty or detriment to the service, be assigned to command the corps he commanded a while last autumn?

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, April 30, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant.

Not expecting to see you again before the spring campaign opens, I wish to express in this way my entire satisfaction with what you have done up to this time, so far as I understand it. The particulars of your plans I neither know nor seek to know. You are vigilant and self-reliant; and, pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any constraints or restraints upon you. While I am very anxious that any great disaster or capture of our men in great numbers shall be avoided, I know these points are less likely to escape your attention than they would be mine. If there is

anything wanting which is within my power to give, do not fail to let me know it. And now, with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

See letter to F. A. Conkling of June 3, 1864.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 15, 1864. 7 a. m.
Lieutenant-General Grant,
Headquarters Army of the Potomac.

I have just received your despatch of 1 p. m. yesterday. I begin to see it: you will succeed. God bless you all. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington City, July 10, 1864. 2 p. m.
Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

Your despatch to General Halleck, referring to what I may think in the present emergency, is shown me. General Halleck says we have absolutely no force here fit to go to the field. He thinks that with the hundred-day men and invalids we have here we can defend Washington, and, scarcely, Baltimore. Besides these there are about 8,000, not very reliable, under Howe, at Harper's Ferry, with Hunter approaching that point very slowly, with what number I suppose you know better than I. Wallace, with some odds and ends, and part of what came up with Ricketts, was so badly beaten yesterday at Monocacy, that what is left can attempt no more than to defend Baltimore. What we shall get in from Pennsylvania and New York will scarcely be worth counting, I fear. Now, what I think is, that you should provide to retain your hold

where you are, certainly, and bring the rest with you personally, and make a vigorous effort to destroy the enemy's forces in this vicinity. I think there is really a fair chance to do this, if the movement is prompt. This is what I think upon your suggestion, and is not an order.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, July 11, 1864. 8 a. m.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

Yours of 10.30 p. m. yesterday received, and very satisfactory. The enemy will learn of Wright's arrival, and then the difficulty will be to unite Wright and Hunter south of the enemy before he will recross the Potomac. Some firing between Rockville and here now.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C.,
July 12, 1864. 11.30 a. m.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

Vague rumors have been reaching us for two or three days that Longstreet's corps is also on its way [*to*] this vicinity. Look out for its absence from your front. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

[Washington], July 17, 1864. 12.25 a. m.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

In your despatch of yesterday to General Sherman, I find the following, to wit:

> I shall make a desperate effort to get a position here, which will hold the enemy without the necessity of so many men.

Pressed as we are by lapse of time I am glad to hear you say this; and yet I do hope you may find a way that the effort shall not be desperate in the sense of great loss of life.

Abraham Lincoln, President.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, July 20, 1864. 4.30 p. m.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

Yours of yesterday, about a call for 300,000, is received. I suppose you had not seen the call for 500,000, made the day before, and which, I suppose, covers the case. Always glad to have your suggestions. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., July 26, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

General Rawlins arrived this morning. The President desires you to name, if you can, a time when it would be convenient for you to meet him in person at Fortress Monroe after Thursday morning.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, July 28, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

Will meet you at Fort Monroe, at 8 p. m., on Saturday, the 30th, unless you shall notify me that it will be inconvenient to you.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, July 29, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

I have changed my purpose, so that now I expect to reach Fort Monroe at 10 a. m., Sunday the 31st. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram in Cipher.*]

Washington, D. C., August 3, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

I have seen your despatch in which you say, "I want Sheridan put in command of all the troops in the field, with instructions to put himself south of the enemy, and follow him to the death. Wherever the enemy goes, let our troops go also." This, I think, is exactly right as to how our forces should move; but please look over the despatches you may have received from here, ever since you made that order, and discover, if you can, that there is any idea in the head of any one here of "putting our army south of the enemy," or of following him to the "death," in any direction. I repeat to you, it will neither be done nor attempted, unless you watch it every day and hour, and force it.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C.,
August 14, 1864. 1.30 p. m.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

The Secretary of War and I concur that you had better confer with General Lee, and stipulate for a mutual discontinuance of house burning and other destruction of private property.

The time and manner of conference and particulars of stipulation we leave, on our part, to your convenience and judgment. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
August 17, 1864. 10.30 a. m.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

I have seen your despatch expressing your unwillingness to break your hold where you are. Neither am I willing. Hold on with a bulldog grip, and chew and choke as much as possible.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, September 12, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant.

Sheridan and Early are facing each other at a dead-lock. Could we not pick up a regiment here and there, to the number of say ten thousand men, and quietly but suddenly concentrate them at Sheridan's camp and enable him to make a strike?

This is but a suggestion.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, September 22, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant.

I send this as an explanation to you, and to do justice to the Secretary of War. I was induced, upon pressing application, to authorize the agents of one of the districts of Pennsylvania to recruit in one of the prison depots in Illinois; and the thing went so far before it came to the knowledge of the Secretary that, in my judgment, it could not be abandoned without greater

evil than would follow its going through. I did not know at the time that you had protested against that class of thing being done; and I now say that while this particular job must be completed, no other of the sort will be authorized, without an understanding with you, if at all. The Secretary of War is wholly free of any part in this blunder.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C.,
September 29, 1864. 10 a. m.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

I hope it will have no constraint on you, nor do harm any way, for me to say I am a little afraid lest Lee sends reinforcements to Early, and thus enables him to turn upon Sheridan.

A. Lincoln.

On October 5, 1864, the President wrote Grant requesting him to permit an exchange of a few naval prisoners through his lines under supervision of General Benjamin F. Butler. He added:

Still, you are at liberty to arrest the whole operation if in your judgment the public good requires it. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., January 14, 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

You have perhaps seen in the papers that ex-Senator Foote, with his family, attempted to escape from Richmond to Washington, and that he was pursued and taken back. His wife and child

are now here. Please give me the earliest information you may receive concerning him, what is likely to be done with him, etc.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, January 19, 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant.

Please read and answer this letter as though I was not President, but only a friend. My son, now in his twenty-second year, having graduated at Harvard, wishes to see something of the war before it ends. I do not wish to put him in the ranks, nor yet to give him a commission, to which those who have already served long are better entitled and better qualified to hold. Could he, without embarrassment to you or detriment to the service, go into your military family with some nominal rank, I, and not the public, furnishing his necessary means? If no, say so without the least hesitation, because I am as anxious and as deeply interested that you shall not be encumbered as you can be yourself.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, February 1, 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

Let nothing which is transpiring change, hinder, or delay your military movements or plans.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion (about February 1, 1865).

Lieutenant-General Grant.

Some time ago you telegraphed that you had stopped a Mr. Laws from passing our lines with a boat and cargo; and I directed you to be in-

formed that you must be allowed to do as you please in such matters. To-night Mr. Laws calls on me, and I have told him, and now tell you, that the matter as to his passing the lines is under your control absolutely; and that he can have any relaxation you choose to give him and none other. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., February 2, 1865.
Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

Say to the gentlemen [1] I will meet them personally at Fort Monroe as soon as I can get there. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, February 7, 1865.
Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

General Singleton, who bears you this, claims that he already has arrangements made, if you consent, to bring a large amount of Southern produce through your lines. For its bearing on our finances I would be glad for this to be done if it can be without injuriously disturbing your military operations, or supplying the enemy. I wish you to be judge and master on these points. Please see and hear him fully, and decide whether anything, and if anything what, can be done in the premises.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[1] The Confederate Peace Commissioners, Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens, Senator R. M. T. Hunter, and John A. Campbell, Assistant Secretary of War. The conference was abortive.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, February 8, 1865.
Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

I am called on by the House of Representatives to give an account of my interview with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, and it is very desirable to me to put in your despatch of February 1, to the Secretary of War, in which, among other things, you say: "I fear now their going back without any expression from any one in authority will have a bad influence." I think the despatch does you credit, while I do not see that it can embarrass you. May I use it?

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., February 24, 1865.
Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

I am in a little perplexity. I was induced to authorize a gentleman to bring Roger A. Pryor here with a view of effecting an exchange of him; but since then I have seen a despatch of yours showing that you specially object to his exchange. Meantime he has reached here and reported to me. It is an ungracious thing for me to send him back to prison, and yet inadmissible for him to remain here long. Cannot you help me out with it? I can conceive that there may be difference to you in days, and I can keep him a few days to accommodate on that point. I have not heard of my son's reaching you.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, February 25, 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

General Sheridan's despatch to you, of to-day, in which he says he "will be off on Monday," and that he "will leave behind about 2,000 men," causes the Secretary of War and myself considerable anxiety. Have you well considered whether you do not again leave open the Shenandoah Valley entrance to Maryland and Pennsylvania, or, at least, to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad? A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., February 27, 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

Subsequent reflection, conference with General Halleck, your despatch, and one from General Sheridan, have relieved my anxiety; and so I beg that you will dismiss any concern you may have on my account, in the matter of my last despatch. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, March 3, 1865. 12 p. m.

Lieutenant-General Grant.

The President directs me to say that he wishes you to have no conference with General Lee unless it be for capitulation of General Lee's army, or on some minor or purely military matter. He instructs me to say that you are not to decide, discuss, or confer upon any political questions. Such questions the President holds in his own hands, and will submit them to no military con-

ferences or conventions. Meanwhile you are to press to the utmost your military advantages.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

Executive Mansion, March 7, 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant.

In accordance with a joint resolution of Congress, approved December 17, 1863, I now have the honor of transmitting and presenting to you, in the name of the people of the United States of America, a copy of said resolution, engrossed on parchment, together with the gold medal therein ordered and directed.

Please accept for yourself and all under your command the renewed expression of my gratitude for your and their arduous and well-performed public service.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., March 9, 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

I see your despatch to the Secretary of War, objecting to rebel prisoners being allowed to take the oath and go free. Supposing that I am responsible for what is done in this way, I think fit to say that there is no general rule of action, allowing prisoners to be discharged merely on taking the oath. What has been done is that members of Congress come to me, from time to time, with lists of names, alleging that from personal knowledge, and evidence of reliable persons, they are satisfied that it is safe to discharge the particular persons named on the lists, and I have ordered their discharge. These members are chiefly from the border States, and those they get discharged are their neighbors and

neighbors' sons. They tell me that they do not bring to me one-tenth of the names which are brought to them, bringing only such as their knowledge or the proof satisfies them about. I have, on the same principle, discharged some on the representations of others than members of Congress; as, for instance, Governor Johnson, of Tennessee. The number I have discharged has been rather larger than I liked, reaching, I should think, an average of fifty a day since the recent general exchange commenced. On the same grounds, last year, I discharged quite a number at different times, aggregating perhaps a thousand Missourians and Kentuckians; and their members, returning here since the prisoners' return to their homes, report to me only two cases of proving false. Doubtless some more have proved false; but, on the whole, I believe what I have done in this way has done good rather than harm. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., March 20, 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

Your kind invitation received. Had already thought of going immediately after the next rain. Will go sooner if any reason for it. Mrs. Lincoln and a few others will probably accompany me. Will notify you of exact time, once it shall be fixed upon. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, March 23, 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point, Virginia.

We start to you at 1 p. m. to-day. May lie

over during the dark hours of the night. Very small party of us. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

City Point, April 1, 1865. 5.45 p. m.

Lieutenant-General Grant.

Yours showing Sheridan's success of to-day is just received, and highly appreciated.[1] Having no great deal to do here, I am still sending the substance of your despatches to the Secretary of War. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Headquarters Armies of the United States,
City Point, April 6, 1865. 12 m.

Lieutenant-General Grant, in the Field.

Secretary Seward was thrown from his carriage yesterday and seriously injured. This, with other matters, will take me to Washington soon. I was at Richmond yesterday and the day before, when and where Judge Campbell, who was with Messrs. Hunter and Stephens in February, called on me, and made such representations as induced me to put in his hands an informal paper, repeating the propositions in my letter of instructions to Mr. Seward, which you remember, and adding that if the war be now further persisted in by the rebels, confiscated property shall at the least bear the additional cost, and that confiscation shall be remitted to the people of any State which will now promptly and in good faith withdraw its troops and other support from resistance to the Government.

Judge Campbell thought it not impossible that the rebel legislature of Virginia would do the

[1] Victory of Five Forks, Va.

latter if permitted; and accordingly I addressed a private letter to General Weitzel, with permission to Judge Campbell to see it, telling him (General Weitzel) that if they attempt this, to permit and protect them, unless they attempt something hostile to the United States, in which case to give them notice and time to leave, and to arrest any remaining after such time.

I do not think it very probable that anything will come of this, but I have thought best to notify you so that if you should see signs you may understand them.

From your recent despatches it seems that you are pretty effectually withdrawing the Virginia troops from opposition to the Government. Nothing that I have done, or probably shall do, is to delay, hinder, or interfere with your work.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Headquarters Armies of the United States,
City Point, April 7, 1865. 11 a. m.

Lieutenant-General Grant.

General Sheridan says "If the thing is pressed I think that Lee will surrender." Let the *thing* be pressed. A. Lincoln.

William R. Morrison.

Executive Mansion, November 5, 1862.

Colonel William R. Morrison, Waterloo, Illinois.

Your letter of September 23 is this moment received. While your words of kindness are very grateful, your suspicions that I intend you injustice are very painful to me. I assure you such suspicions are groundless. I cannot even conjecture what juniors of yours you suppose I contemplate promoting over you. True, senior-

ity has not been my rule in this connection; but in considering military merit, the world has abundant evidence that I disregard politics.

A. Lincoln.

JOHN POPE.

During August, 1862, the Sioux of Minnesota rose up and massacred hundreds of settlers. Troops seized the ringleaders, who were sentenced to be hanged.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, November 10, 1862.

Major-General Pope, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Your despatch giving the names of 300 Indians condemned to death is received. Please forward as soon as possible the full and complete record of their convictions; and if the record does not fully indicate the more guilty and influential of the culprits, please have a careful statement made on these points and forwarded to me. Send all by mail. A. Lincoln.

On December 1, 1862, the President inquired of the Judge-Advocate General for his legal opinion "whether if I should conclude to execute only a part of them, I must myself designate which, or could I leave the designation to some officer on the ground?" The opinion was that the President should designate the Indians to be executed, and this Lincoln did on December 6, 1862.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
Washington, April 11, 1863.

Major-General Pope, Milwaukee, Wis.

The President directs that under no circumstances will our troops cross the boundary line into British territory without his authority.

H. W. Halleck, General-in-chief.

G. F. Shepley.[1]

See letter to Benjamin F. Butler of October 14, 1862.

Executive Mansion, November 21, 1862.

Hon. G. F. Shepley. . . .

I wish elections for congressmen to take place in Louisiana; but I wish it to be a movement of the people of the districts, and not a movement of our military or quasi-military authorities there. I merely wish our authorities to give the people a chance—to protect them against secession interference. Of course the election cannot be according to strict law. By State law there is, I suppose, no election day before January; and the regular election officers will not act in many cases, if in any. These knots must be cut, the main object being to get an expression of the people. If they would fix a day in a way for themselves all the better; but if they stand idle, not seeming to know what to do, do you fix these things for them by proclamation. And do not waste a day about it, but fix the election day early enough, that we can hear the result here by the first of January. Fix a day for an election in all the districts, and have it held in as many places as you can.

Yours very truly, A Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, November 21, 1862.

Hon. G. F. Shepley.

Dear Sir: Dr. Kennedy, bearer of this, has some apprehension that Federal officers not citizens of Louisiana may be set up as candidates

[1] Colonel Shepley was appointed military governor of Louisiana on June 10, 1862.

for Congress in that State. In my view there could be no possible object in such an election. We do not particularly need members of Congress from there to enable us to get along with legislation here. What we do want is the conclusive evidence that respectable citizens of Louisiana are willing to be members of Congress and to swear support to the Constitution, and that other respectable citizens there are willing to vote for them and send them. To send a parcel of Northern men here as representatives, elected, as would be understood (and perhaps really so), at the point of the bayonet, would be disgusting and outrageous; and were I a member of Congress here, I would vote against admitting any such man to a seat.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

See letters to Nathaniel P. Banks of August 5, 1863; November 5, 1863; and December 24, 1863.

GEORGE ROBERTSON.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 26, 1862.

My dear Sir: A few days since I had a despatch from you which I did not answer. If I were to be wounded personally, I think I would not shun it. But it is the life of the nation. I now understand the trouble is with Colonel Utley: that he has five slaves in his camp, four of whom belong to rebels, and one belonging to you. If this be true, convey yours to Colonel Utley, so that he can make him free, and I will pay you any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars.

Yours, etc., A. Lincoln.

EDWARD BATES.

Executive Mansion, November 29, 1862.

Hon. Attorney-General.

My dear Sir: Few things perplex me more than this question between Governor Gamble and the War Department, as to whether the peculiar force organized by the former in Missouri are State troops or United States troops. Now, this is either an immaterial or a mischievous question. First, if no more is desired than to have it settled what name the force is to be called by, it is immaterial. Secondly, if it is desired for more than the fixing a name, it can only be to get a position from which to draw practical inferences; then it is mischievous. Instead of settling one dispute by deciding the question, I should merely furnish a nestful of eggs for hatching new disputes. I believe the force is not strictly either "State troops" or "United States troops." It is of mixed character. I therefore think it is safer, when a practical question arises, to decide that question directly, and not indirectly by deciding a general abstraction supposed to include it, and also including a great deal more. Without dispute Governor Gamble appoints the officers of this force, and fills vacancies when they occur. The question now practically in dispute is: Can Governor Gamble make a vacancy by removing an officer or accepting a resignation? Now, while it is proper that this question shall be settled, I do not perceive why either Governor Gamble or the Government here should care which way it is settled. I am perplexed with it only because there seems to be pertinacity about it. It seems to me that

it might be either way without injury to the service; or that the offer of the Secretary of War to let Governor Gamble make vacancies, and he (the Secretary) to ratify the making of them, ought to be satisfactory.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

JOHN L. WORDEN.

[*Message to Congress.*]

To the Senate and House of Representatives.

In conformity to the law of July 16, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Commander John L. Worden, United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks of Congress for the eminent skill and gallantry exhibited by him in the late remarkable battle between the United States iron-clad steamer *Monitor*, under his command, and the rebel iron-clad steamer *Merrimac*, in March last. . . .

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., December 8, 1862.

GEORGE U. MORRIS.

[*Message to Congress.*]

To the Senate and House of Representatives.

In conformity to the law of July 16, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Lieutenant-Commander George U. Morris, United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks of Congress for the determined valor and heroism displayed in his defense of the United States ship of war *Cumberland*, temporarily under his command in the naval engagement at Hampton Roads on the 8th of March, 1862, with the rebel iron-clad steamfrigate *Merrimac*. Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., December 10, 1862.

FERNANDO WOOD.

Executive Mansion, December 12, 1862.
Hon. Fernando Wood.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the 8th, with the accompanying note of same date, was received yesterday. The most important paragraph in the letter, as I consider, is in these words: "On the 25th of November last I was advised by an authority which I deemed likely to be well informed as well as reliable and truthful, that the Southern States would send representatives to the next Congress, provided that a full and general amnesty should permit them to do so. No guaranties or terms were asked for other than the amnesty referred to."

I strongly suspect your information will prove to be groundless; nevertheless, I thank you for communicating it to me. Understanding the phrase in the paragraph above quoted—"the Southern States would send representatives to the next Congress"—to be substantially the same as that "the people of the Southern States would cease resistance, and would reinaugurate, submit to, and maintain the national authority within the limits of such States under the Constitution of the United States," I say that in such case the war would cease on the part of the United States; and that if within a reasonable time "a full and general amnesty" were necessary to such end, it would not be withheld.

I do not think it would be proper now for me to communicate this formally or informally to the people of the Southern States. My belief is that they already know it; and when they choose, if ever, they can communicate with me

unequivocally. Nor do I think it proper now to suspend military operations to try any experiment of negotiation.

I should nevertheless receive with great pleasure the exact information you now have, and also such other as you may in any way obtain. Such information might be more valuable before the 1st of January than afterward.

While there is nothing in this letter which I shall dread to see in history, it is, perhaps, better for the present that its existence should not become public. I therefore have to request that you will regard it as confidential.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

MRS. ABRAHAM LINCOLN (MARY TODD).

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, December 21, 1862.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, Continental Hotel.

Do not come on the night train. It is too cold. Come in the morning. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 9, 1863.

Mrs. Lincoln, Philadelphia.

Think you had better put "Tad's" pistol away. I had an ugly dream about him.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, June 16, 1863.

Mrs. Lincoln, Philadelphia, Pa.

It is a matter of choice with yourself whether you come home. There is no reason why you should not, that did not exist when you went

away. As bearing on the question of your coming home, I do not think the raid into Pennsylvania amounts to anything at all.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, August 8, 1863.

My dear Wife: All as well as usual, and no particular trouble anyway. I put the money into a Treasury at five per cent., with the privilege of withdrawing it any time upon thirty days' notice. I suppose you are glad to learn this. Tell dear Tad poor "Nanny Goat" is lost, and Mrs. Cuthbert and I are in distress about it. The day you left, Nanny was found resting herself and chewing her little cud on the middle of Tad's bed; but now she's gone! The gardener kept complaining that she destroyed the flowers, till it was concluded to bring her down to the White House. This was done, and the second day she had disappeared and has not been heard of since. This is the last we know of poor "Nanny."

The weather continues dry and excessively warm here. Nothing very important occurring. The election in Kentucky has gone very strongly right. Old Mr. Wickliffe got ugly, as you know: ran for Governor, and is terribly beaten. Upon Mr. Crittenden's death, Brutus Clay, Cassius's brother, was put on the track for Congress, and is largely elected. Mr. Menzies, who, as we thought, behaved very badly last session of Congress, is largely beaten in the district opposite Cincinnati, by Green Clay Smith, Cassius Clay's nephew. But enough.

Affectionately, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., September 21, 1863.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York.

The air is so clear and cool and apparently healthy that I would be glad for you to come. Nothing very particular but I would be glad to see you and Tad. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, September 22, 1863.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York.

Did you receive my despatch of yesterday? Mrs. Cuthbert did not correctly understand me. I directed her to tell you to use your own pleasure whether to stay or come, and I did not say it is sickly and that you should on no account come. So far as I see or know, it was never healthier, and I really wish to see you. Answer this on receipt. A. Lincoln.

On September 24, 1863, the President communicated to his wife, with other war news, the information that her brother-in-law Helm, a brigadier-general in the Confederate army, had been killed in the battle of Chickamauga.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, April 28, 1864.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, Metropolitan Hotel, New York.

The draft will go to you. Tell Tad the goats and father are very well, especially the goats.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, June 24, 1864.
Mrs. A. Lincoln, Boston, Massachusetts.

All well and very warm. Tad and I have been to General Grant's army. Returned yesterday safe and sound. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., June 29, 1864.
Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York.

All well. Tom is moving things out.
A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., August 31, 1864.
Mrs. A. Lincoln, Manchester, Vermont.

All reasonably well. Bob not here yet. How is dear Tad? A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, September 8, 1864.
Mrs. A. Lincoln, Manchester, Vermont.

All well, including Tad's pony and the goats. Mrs. Colonel Dimmick died night before last. Bob left Sunday afternoon. Said he did not know whether he should see you.
A. Lincoln.

City Point, Va., April 2, 1865.
Mrs. Lincoln.

At 4.30 p. m. to-day General Grant telegraphs that he has Petersburg completely enveloped from river below to river above, and has captured since he started last Wednesday, about 12,000 prison-

ers and 50 guns. He suggests that I shall go out and see him in the morning, which I think I will do. Tad and I are both well, and will be glad to see you and your party here at the time you name. A. Lincoln.

Army of the Potomac.

The defeat of the Army of the Potomac at Fredericksburg, Va., on December 13, 1862, was a severe blow to the *morale* of the soldiers, and the President issued the following congratulations to them to lift up their spirits:

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 22, 1862.

To the Army of the Potomac: I have just read your commanding general's report of the battle of Fredericksburg. Although you were not successful, the attempt was not an error, nor the failure other than accident. The courage with which you, in an open field, maintained the contest against an intrenched foe, and the consummate skill and success with which you crossed and recrossed the river in the face of the enemy, show that you possess all the qualities of a great army, which will yet give victory to the cause of the country and of popular government.

Condoling with the mourners for the dead, and sympathizing with the severely wounded, I congratulate you that the number of both is comparatively so small.

I tender to you, officers and soldiers, the thanks of the nation. A. Lincoln.

W. B. Franklin and W. F. Smith.

Executive Mansion, December 22, 1862.

Major-General Franklin and Major-General Smith.

Yours of the 20th, suggesting a plan of operations for the Army of the Potomac, is received. I have hastily read the plan, and shall yet try to give it more deliberate consideration, with the aid of military men. Meanwhile let me say it seems to me to present the old questions of preference between the line of the Peninsula and the line you are now upon. The difficulties you point out as pertaining to the Fredericksburg line are obvious and palpable. But now, as heretofore, if you go to James River, a large part of the army must remain on or near the Fredericksburg line, to protect Washington. It is the old difficulty.

When I saw General Franklin at Harrison's Landing on James River last July, I cannot be mistaken in saying that he distinctly advised the bringing of the army away from there.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

For order relating to Franklin of January 25, 1863, see letter to Ambrose E. Burnside.

Miss Fanny McCullough.

Executive Mansion, December 23, 1862.

Dear Fanny: It is with deep regret that I learn of the death of your kind and brave father, and especially that it is affecting your young heart beyond what is common in such cases. In this sad world of ours sorrow comes to all, and to the young it comes with bitterer agony because it takes them unawares. The older have learned

ever to expect it. I am anxious to afford some alleviation to your present distress. Perfect relief is not possible, except with time. You cannot now realize that you will ever feel better. Is not this so? And yet it is a mistake. You are sure to be happy again. To know this, which is certainly true, will make you some less miserable now. I have had experience enough to know what I say, and you need only to believe it to feel better at once. The memory of your dear father, instead of an agony, will yet be a sad, sweet feeling in your heart of a purer and holier sort than you have known before.

Please present my kind regards to your afflicted mother.

Your sincere friend, A. Lincoln.

Compare with letters of condolence to the parents of Colonel Ellsworth and to Mrs. Bixby.

W. S. Rosecrans.[1]

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, January 5, 1863.

Major-General W. S. Rosecrans, Murfreesborough, Tennessee.

Your despatch announcing retreat of enemy has just reached here. God bless you and all

[1] General Rosecrans was a West Point graduate, and, at the outbreak of the war, a prominent engineer. He first served under General McClellan, winning the battle of Rich Mountain, Va., on July 11, 1861. On July 25 he succeeded McClellan in command of the Department of the Ohio. Later he succeeded General Pope in command of the Army of the Mississippi, and won the battles of Iuka, September 19, 1862, and Corinth, October 3 and 4, 1862. On October 27 he became commander of the Department of the Cumberland. On December 31, 1862, and January 1 and 2, 1863, he defeated General Bragg at Murfreesborough, Tenn. (the battle being also known as Stone River).

with you! Please tender to all, and accept for yourself, the nation's gratitude for your and their skill, endurance, and dauntless courage.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, February 17, 1863.

Major-General Rosecrans.

My dear Sir: In no other way does the enemy give us so much trouble at so little expense to himself as by the raids of rapidly moving small bodies of troops, largely if not wholly mounted, harassing and discouraging loyal residents, supplying themselves with provisions, clothing, horses, and the like, surprising and capturing small detachments of our forces, and breaking our communications. And this will increase just in proportion as his larger armies shall weaken and wane. Nor can these raids be successfully met by even larger forces of our own of the same kind acting merely on the defensive. I think we should organize proper forces and make counter raids. We should not capture so much of supplies from them as they have done from us, but it would trouble them more to repair railroads and bridges than it does us. What think you of trying to get up such a corps in your army? Could you do it without any or many additional troops (which we have not to give you), provided we furnish horses, suitable arms, and other appointments? Please consider this not as an order, but as a suggestion.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 17, 1863.

Major-General Rosecrans.

My dear Sir: I have just received your telegram saying that the "Secretary of War telegraphed after the battle of Stone River: 'Anything you and your command want you can have,'" and then specifying several things you have requested and have not received.

The promise of the Secretary, as you state it, is certainly pretty broad; nevertheless it accords with the feeling of the whole Government here toward you. I know not a single enemy of yours here. Still the promise must have a reasonable construction. We know you will not purposely make an unreasonable request, nor persist in one after it shall appear to be such. Now, as to the matter of a paymaster, you desired one to be permanently attached to your army, and, as I understand, desired that Major Larned should be the man. This was denied you; and you seem to think it was denied partly to disoblige you and partly to disoblige Major Larned—the latter, as you suspect, at the instance of Paymaster-General Andrews. On the contrary, the Secretary of War assures me the request was refused on no personal ground whatever, but because to grant it would derange, and substantially break up, the whole pay-system as now organized, and so organized on very full consideration and sound reason, as believed. There is powerful temptation in money; and it was and is believed that nothing can prevent the paymasters speculating upon the soldiers but a system by which each is to pay certain regiments so soon after he has notice that he is to pay those particular regiments that he has no time or opportunity to lay plans

for speculating upon them. This precaution is all lost if paymasters respectively are to serve permanently with the same regiments, and pay them over and over during the war. No special application of this has been intended to be made to Major Larned or to your army. And as to General Andrews, I have in another connection felt a little aggrieved at what seemed to me his implicit following the advice and suggestions of Major Larned—so ready are we all to cry out and ascribe motives when our own toes are pinched.

Now as to your request that your commission should date from December, 1861. Of course you expected to gain something by this; but you should remember that precisely so much as you should gain by it others would lose by it. If the thing you sought had been exclusively ours, we would have given it cheerfully; but, being the right of other men, we having a merely arbitrary power over it, the taking it from them and giving it to you became a more delicate matter and more deserving of consideration. Truth to speak, I do not appreciate this matter of rank on paper as you officers do. The world will not forget that you fought the battle of Stone River, and it will never care a fig whether you rank General Grant on paper, or he so ranks you.

As to the appointment of an aide contrary to your wishes, I knew nothing of it until I received your despatch; and the Secretary of War tells me he has known nothing of it, but will trace it out. The examination of course will extend to the case of R. S. Thomas, whom you say you wish appointed.

And now be assured you wrong both yourself

and us when you even suspect there is not the best disposition on the part of us all here to oblige you. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 20, 1863.

Major-General Rosecrans.

Yours of yesterday in relation to Colonel Haggard is received. I am anxious that you shall not misunderstand me. In no case have I intended to censure you or to question your ability. In Colonel Haggard's case I meant no more than to suggest that possibly you might have been mistaken in a point that could [*be*] corrected.

I frequently make mistakes myself in the many things I am compelled to do hastily.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 21, 1863. 4.40 p. m.

Major-General Rosecrans.

For certain reasons it is thought best for Rev. Dr. Jaquess not to come here.

Present my respects to him, and ask him to write me fully on the subject he has in contemplation. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 28, 1863.

Major-General Rosecrans, Murfreesborough, Tennessee.

I would not push you to any rashness, but I am very anxious that you do your utmost, short of rashness, to keep Bragg from getting off to help Johnston against Grant. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, May 28, 1863.

Major-General Rosecrans.

My dear Sir: I have but a slight personal acquaintance with Colonel Jaquess, though I know him very well by character.

Such a mission as he proposes I think promises good, if it were free from difficulties, which I fear it cannot be.

First. He cannot go with any government authority whatever. This is absolute and imperative.

Secondly. If he goes without authority, he takes a great deal of personal risk—he may be condemned and executed as a spy.

If, for any reason, you think fit to give Colonel Jaquess a furlough, and any authority from me for that object is necessary, you hereby have it for any length of time you see fit.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, August 10, 1863.

My dear General Rosecrans.

Yours of the 1st was received two days ago. I think you must have inferred more than General Halleck has intended, as to any dissatisfaction of mine with you. I am sure you, as a reasonable man, would not have been wounded could you have heard all my words and seen all my thoughts in regard to you. I have not abated in my kind feeling for you and confidence in you. I have seen most of your despatches to General Halleck—probably all of them. After Grant invested Vicksburg I was very anxious lest Johnston should overwhelm him from the outside, and when it appeared certain that part of Bragg's force had gone and was going to

Johnston, it did seem to me it was exactly the proper time for you to attack Bragg with what force he had left. In all kindness let me say it so seems to me yet. Finding from your despatches to General Halleck that your judgment was different, and being very anxious for Grant, I, on one occasion, told General Halleck I thought he should direct you to decide at once to immediately attack Bragg or to stand on the defensive and send part of your force to Grant. He replied he had already so directed in substance. Soon after, despatches from Grant abated my anxiety for him, and in proportion abated my anxiety about any movement of yours. When afterward, however, I saw a despatch of yours arguing that the right time for you to attack Bragg was not before, but would be after, the fall of Vicksburg, it impressed me very strangely, and I think I so stated to the Secretary of War and General Halleck. It seemed no other than the proposition that you could better fight Bragg when Johnston should be at liberty to return and assist him than you could before he could so return to his assistance.

Since Grant has been entirely relieved by the fall of Vicksburg, by which Johnston is also relieved, it has seemed to me that your chance for a stroke has been considerably diminished, and I have not been pressing you directly or indirectly. True, I am very anxious for East Tennessee to be occupied by us; but I see and appreciate the difficulties you mention. The question occurs, Can the thing be done at all? Does preparation advance at all? Do you not consume supplies as fast as you get them forward? Have you more animals to-

day than you had at the battle of Stone River? And yet have not more been furnished you since then than your entire present stock? I ask the same questions as to your mounted force.

Do not misunderstand: I am not casting blame upon you; I rather think by great exertion you can get to East Tennessee; but a very important question is, Can you stay there? I make no order in the case—that I leave to General Halleck and yourself.

And now be assured once more that I think of you in all kindness and confidence, and that I am not watching you with an evil eye.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, August 31, 1863.

My dear General Rosecrans.

Yours of the 22d was received yesterday. When I wrote you before, I did [*not*] intend, nor do I now, to engage in an argument with you on military questions. You had informed me you were impressed through General Halleck that I was dissatisfied with you; and I could not bluntly deny that I was without unjustly implicating him. I therefore concluded to tell you the plain truth, being satisfied the matter would thus appear much smaller than it would if seen by mere glimpses. I repeat that my appreciation of you has not abated. I can never forget whilst I remember anything that about the end of last year and beginning of this, you gave us a hard-earned victory, which, had there been a defeat instead, the nation could scarcely have lived over.

Neither can I forget the check you so oppor-

tunely gave to a dangerous sentiment which was spreading in the North.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

On September 9, 1863, General Rosecrans occupied Chattanooga. He was defeated at Chickamauga September 18–20.

Washington, September 21, 1863. 12.55 p.m.
Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga.

Be of good cheer. We have unabated confidence in you, and in your soldiers and officers. In the main you must be the judge as to what is to be done. If I were to suggest, I would say, save your army by taking strong positions until Burnside joins you, when, I hope, you can turn the tide. I think you had better send a courier to Burnside to hurry him up. We cannot reach him by telegraph. We suppose some force is going to you from Corinth, but for want of communication we do not know how they are getting along. We shall do our utmost to assist you. Send us your present positions.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, September 23, 1863. 9.15 a.m.
Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Below is Bragg's despatch as found in the Richmond papers. You see he does not claim so many prisoners or captured guns as you were inclined to concede. He also confesses to heavy loss. An exchanged general of ours leaving Richmond yesterday says two of Longstreet's divisions and his entire artillery and two of

Pickett's brigades and Wise's legion have gone to Tennessee. He mentions no other.

Chickamauga River,
September 20 (via Ringgold, 21st).

General Cooper, Adjutant-General:

After two days' hard fighting we have driven the enemy, after a desperate resistance, from several positions, and now hold the field; but he still confronts us. The losses are heavy on both sides, especially in our officers. We have taken over twenty pieces of artillery and some 2,500 prisoners.

Braxton Bragg.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
September 24, 1863. 10 a. m.

Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Last night we received the rebel accounts, through Richmond papers, of your late battle. They give Major-General Hood as mortally wounded. . . . With Burnside, Sherman, and from elsewhere we shall get to you from forty to sixty thousand additional men. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, September 28, 1863.

My dear General Rosecrans.

We are sending you two small corps, one under General Howard and one under General Slocum, and the whole under General Hooker.

Unfortunately the relations between Generals Hooker and Slocum are not such as to promise good, if their present relative positions remain. Therefore, let me beg—almost enjoin upon you—that on their reaching you, you will make a transposition by which General Slocum with his

corps may pass from under the command of General Hooker, and General Hooker, in turn, receive some other equal force. It is important for this to be done, though we could not well arrange it here. Please do it.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
October 4, 1863. 11.30 a. m.

Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Yours of yesterday received. If we can hold Chattanooga and East Tennessee, I think the rebellion must dwindle and die. I think you and Burnside can do this, and hence doing so is your main object. Of course to greatly damage or destroy the enemy in your front would be a greater object, because it would include the former and more, but it is not so certainly within your power. I understand the main body of the enemy is very near you, so near that you could "board at home," so to speak, and menace or attack him any day. Would not the doing of this be your best mode of counteracting his raid on your communications? But this is not an order. I intend doing something like what you suggest whenever the case shall appear ripe enough to have it accepted in the true understanding rather than as a confession of weakness and fear. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram in Cipher.*]

War Department,
October 12, 1863. 8.35 a. m.

Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

As I understand, Burnside is menaced from the west, and so cannot go to you without surrendering East Tennessee. I now think the enemy will not attack Chattanooga and I think you will have to look out for his making a concentrated drive at Burnside. You and Burnside now have him by the throat; and he must break your hold or perish. I therefore think you better try to hold the road up to Kingston, leaving Burnside to what is above there. Sherman is coming to you, though gaps in the telegraph prevent our knowing how far he is advanced. He and Hooker will so support you on the west and northwest as to enable you to look east and northeast. This is not an order. General Halleck will give his views. A. Lincoln.

General Rosecrans was assigned to the Department of the Missouri in January, 1864.

Executive Mansion, March 10, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans.

Please carefully examine and consider the question whether, on the whole, it would be advantageous to our military operations for the United States to furnish iron for completing the southwest branch of the Pacific Railroad, all or any part of the way from Rolla to Springfield, Missouri, so fast as the company shall do all the other work for the completion, and to receive pay for said iron in transportation upon said

newly made part of said road; and if your opinion shall be in the affirmative, make a contract with the company to that effect, subject to my approval or rejection. In any event, report the main facts, together with your reasoning, to me.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, April 4, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans.

My dear Sir: This is rather more social than official; containing suggestions rather than orders. I somewhat dread the effect of your Special Order No. 61, dated March 7, 1864. I have found that men who have not even been suspected of disloyalty are very averse to taking an oath of any sort as a condition to exercising an ordinary right of citizenship. The point will probably be made that while men may, without an oath, assemble in a noisy political meeting, they must take the oath to assemble in a religious meeting. It is said, I know not whether truly, that in some parts of Missouri assassinations are systematically committed upon returned rebels who wish to ground arms and behave themselves. This should not be. Of course I have not heard that you give countenance to or wink at such assassinations. Again, it is complained that the enlistment of negroes is not conducted in as orderly a manner and with as little collateral provocation as it might be. So far you have got along in the Department of the Missouri rather better than I dared to hope, and I congratulate you and myself upon it.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 8, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans, St. Louis, Missouri.

Yours of to-day received. I am unable to conceive how a message can be less safe by the express than by a staff-officer. If you send a verbal message, the messenger is one additional person let into the secret. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, September 26, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans.

One cannot always safely disregard a report, even which one may not believe. I have a report that you incline to deny the soldiers the right of attending the election in Missouri, on the assumed ground that they will get drunk and make a disturbance. Last year I sent General Schofield a letter of instruction, dated October 1, 1863, which I suppose you will find on the files of the department, and which contains among other things the following: "At elections see that those, and only those, are allowed to vote who are entitled to do so by the laws of Missouri, including as of those laws the restrictions laid by the Missouri convention upon those who may have participated in the rebellion." This I thought right then, and think right now; and, I may add, I do not remember that either party complained after the election of General Schofield's action under it. Wherever the law allows soldiers to vote, their officers must also allow it. Please write me on this subject.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, November 19, 1864.
Major-General Rosecrans.

A Major Wolf, as it seems, was under sentence in your department to be executed in retaliation for the murder of a Major Wilson, and I, without any particular knowledge of the facts, was induced by appeals for mercy to order the suspension of his execution till further order. Understanding that you so desire, this letter places the case again within your control, with the remark only that I wish you to do nothing merely for revenge, but that what you may do shall be solely done with reference to the security of the future. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Caleb Russell and Sallie A. Fenton.

Washington, January 5, 1863.
My Good Friends:

The Honorable Senator Harlan has just placed in my hands your letter of the 27th of December, which I have read with pleasure and gratitude.

It is most cheering and encouraging for me to know that in the efforts which I have made and am making for the restoration of a righteous peace to our country, I am upheld and sustained by the good wishes and prayers of God's people. No one is more deeply than myself aware that without His favor our highest wisdom is but as foolishness and that our most strenuous efforts would avail nothing in the shadow of His displeasure.

I am conscious of no desire for my country's welfare that is not in consonance with His will, and of no plan upon which we may not ask His

blessing. It seems to me that if there be one subject upon which all good men may unitedly agree, it is imploring the gracious favor of the God of Nations upon the struggles our people are making for the preservation of their precious birthright of civil and religious liberty.

Very truly your friend, A. Lincoln.

Green Adams.

Executive Mansion, January 7, 1863.

Hon. Green Adams.

My dear Sir: In answer to your inquiries of this morning, I have to say that I am very anxious to have the special force in Kentucky raised and armed. But the changed conduct toward me of some of her members of Congress, and the ominous outgivings as to what the governor and legislature of Kentucky intend doing, admonish me to consider whether any additional arms I may send there are not to be turned against the Government. I hope this may clear up on the right side. So far as I can see, Kentucky's sons in the field are acting loyally and bravely. God bless them! I cannot help thinking the mass of her people feel the same way.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

B. Gratz Brown.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C.,
January 7, 1863. 5.30 p. m.

Hon. B. Gratz Brown, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Yours of to-day just received. The Administration takes no part between its friends in

Missouri, of whom I, at least, consider you one; and I have never before had an intimation that appointees there were interfering, or were inclined to interfere. A. Lincoln.

Fitz-John Porter.[1]

See letter of November 5, 1862, to George B. McClellan.

[*Instruction to the Judge-Advocate-General.*]

War Department, January 12, 1863.

The Judge-Advocate-General is instructed to revise the proceedings of the court-martial in the case of Major-General Fitz-John Porter, and to report fully upon any legal questions that may have arisen in them, and upon the bearing of the testimony in reference to the charges and specifications exhibited against the accused, and upon which he was tried. Abraham Lincoln.

[*Indorsement on the Proceedings and Sentence of the Fitz-John Porter Court-Martial.*]

Headquarters of the Army,
Washington, January 13, 1863.

In compliance with the Sixty-fifth Article of War, these whole proceedings are transmitted to the Secretary of War, to be laid before the President of the United States.

H. W. Halleck, General-in-chief.

[1] General Fitz-John Porter was charged by his superior general, John Pope, with disobeying orders at the Second Battle of Bull Run, August 28 and 29, 1862. For this he was deprived of command, but restored, and he served in the Antietam campaign. In November, however, he was court-martialed. In 1886 he was restored by Congress to the army with the rank of colonel.

January 21, 1863.

The foregoing proceedings, findings, and sentence in the foregoing case of Major-General Fitz-John Porter are approved and confirmed, and it is ordered that the said Fitz-John Porter be, and he hereby is, cashiered and dismissed from the service of the United States as a major-general of volunteers, and as colonel and brevet brigadier-general in the regular service of the United States, and forever disqualified from holding any office of trust or profit under the Government of the United States.

Abraham Lincoln.

Working-men of Manchester, England.

Executive Mansion, January 19, 1863.

To the Working-men of Manchester: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the address and resolutions which you sent me on the eve of the new year. When I came, on the 4th of March, 1861, through a free and constitutional election to preside in the Government of the United States, the country was found at the verge of civil war. Whatever might have been the cause, or whosoever the fault, one duty, paramount to all others, was before me, namely, to maintain and preserve at once the Constitution and the integrity of the Federal Republic. A conscientious purpose to perform this duty is the key to all the measures of administration which have been and to all which will hereafter be pursued. Under our frame of government and my official oath, I could not depart from this purpose if I would. It is not always in the power of governments to enlarge or restrict the

scope of moral results which follow the policies that they may deem it necessary for the public safety from time to time to adopt.

I have understood well that the duty of self-preservation rests solely with the American people; but I have at the same time been aware that favor or disfavor of foreign nations might have a material influence in enlarging or prolonging the struggle with disloyal men in which the country is engaged. A fair examination of history has served to authorize a belief that the past actions and influences of the United States were generally regarded as having been beneficial toward mankind. I have, therefore, reckoned upon the forbearance of nations. Circumstances —to some of which you kindly allude—induce me especially to expect that if justice and good faith should be practised by the United States, they would encounter no hostile influence on the part of Great Britain. It is now a pleasant duty to acknowledge the demonstration you have given of your desire that a spirit of amity and peace toward this country may prevail in the councils of your Queen, who is respected and esteemed in your own country only more than she is by the kindred nation which has its home on this side of the Atlantic.

I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the working-men at Manchester, and in all Europe, are called to endure in this crisis. It has been often and studiously represented that the attempt to overthrow this Government, which was built upon the foundation of human rights, and to substitute for it one which should rest exclusively on the basis of human slavery, was likely to obtain the favor of Europe. Through

the action of our disloyal citizens, the working-men of Europe have been subjected to severe trials, for the purpose of forcing their sanction to that attempt. Under the circumstances, I cannot but regard your decisive utterances upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country. It is indeed an energetic and reinspiring assurance of the inherent power of truth, and of the ultimate and universal triumph of justice, humanity, and freedom. I do not doubt that the sentiments you have expressed will be sustained by your great nation; and, on the other hand, I have no hesitation in assuring you that they will excite admiration, esteem, and the most reciprocal feelings of friendship among the American people. I hail this interchange of sentiment, therefore, as an augury that whatever else may happen, whatever misfortune may befall your country or my own, the peace and friendship which now exist between the two nations will be, as it shall be my desire to make them, perpetual. Abraham Lincoln.

See letter to Working-men of London.

Joseph Hooker.

See letter of January 19, 1861, to J. K. F. Mansfield; of November 5, 1862, to George B. McClellan; and of January 25, 1863, to Ambrose E. Burnside.

Executive Mansion, January 26, 1863.

Major-General Hooker.

General: I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appear to me to be sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know

that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skilful soldier, which of course I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable if not an indispensable quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army you have taken counsel of your ambition and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the Government needed a dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The Government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it; and now beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

On receiving this letter Hooker said of the President: "He talks to me like a father; I shall not answer this letter until I have won him a great victory."

[*Indorsement on General J. Hooker's Plan of Campaign against Richmond.*]

April 11, 1863.

My opinion is that just now, with the enemy directly ahead of us, there is no eligible route for us into Richmond; and consequently a question of preference between the Rappahannock route and the James River route is a contest about nothing. Hence our prime object is the enemy's army in front of us, and is not with or about Richmond at all, unless it be incidental to the main object.

What then? The two armies are face to face, with a narrow river between them. Our communications are shorter and safer than are those of the enemy. For this reason we can, with equal powers, fret him more than he can us. I do not think that by raids toward Washington he can derange the Army of the Potomac at all. He has no distant operations which can call any of the Army of the Potomac away; we have such operations which may call him away, at least in part. While he remains intact I do not think we should take the disadvantage of attacking him in his intrenchments; but we should continually harass and menace him, so that he shall have no leisure nor safety in sending away detachments. If he weakens himself, then pitch into him.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C.,
April 15, 1863. 10.15 p. m.

Major-General Hooker.

It is now 10.15 p. m. An hour ago I received your letter of this morning, and a few moments later your despatch of this evening. The latter gives me considerable uneasiness. The rain and mud of course were to be calculated upon. General S. is not moving rapidly enough to make the expedition come to anything. He has now been out three days, two of which were unusually fair weather, and all three without hindrance from the enemy, and yet he is not twenty-five miles from where he started. To reach his point he still has sixty to go, another river (the Rapidan) to cross, and will be hindered by the enemy. By arithmetic, how many days will it take him to do it? I do not know that any better can be done, but I greatly fear it is another failure already. Write me often. I am very anxious.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

On May 2–4 Hooker was beaten at Chancellorsville, Va.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., May 6, 1863. 12.25 p.m.

Major-General Hooker.

We have through General Dix the contents of Richmond papers of the 5th. General Dix's despatch in full is going to you by Captain Fox of the navy. The substance is General Lee's despatch of the 3d (Sunday), claiming that he had beaten you, and that you were then retreating across the Rappahannock, distinctly stating that

two of Longstreet's divisions fought you on Saturday, and that General [*E. F.*] Paxton was killed, Stonewall Jackson severely wounded, and Generals Heth and A. P. Hill slightly wounded. The Richmond papers also stated, upon what authority not mentioned, that our cavalry have been at Ashland, Hanover Court House, and other points, destroying several locomotives and a good deal of other property, and all the railroad bridges to within five miles of Richmond.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., May 6, 1863. 12.30 p.m.

General Hooker.

Just as I had telegraphed you contents of Richmond papers showing that our cavalry had not failed, I received General Butterfield's of 11 a. m. yesterday. This, with the great rain of yesterday and last night securing your right flank, I think puts a new face upon your case; but you must be the judge. A. Lincoln.

Headquarters Army of the Potomac,
May 7, 1863.

Major-General Hooker.

My dear Sir: The recent movement of your army is ended without effecting its object, except, perhaps, some important breakings of the enemy's communications. What next? If possible, I would be very glad of another movement early enough to give us some benefit from the fact of the enemy's communication being broken; but neither for this reason nor any other do I wish anything done in desperation or rashness. An early movement would also help to supersede the

bad moral effect of the recent one, which is said to be considerably injurious. Have you already in your mind a plan wholly or partially formed? If you have, prosecute it without interference from me. If you have not, please inform me, so that I, incompetent as I may be, can try and assist in the formation of some plan for the army.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., May 8, 1863. 4 p. m.

Major-General Hooker.

The news is here of the capture by our forces of Grand Gulf—a large and very important thing. General Willich, an exchanged prisoner just from Richmond, has talked with me this morning. He was there when our cavalry cut the roads in that vicinity. He says there was not a sound pair of legs in Richmond, and that our men, had they known it, could have safely gone in and burned everything and brought in Jeff Davis. We captured and paroled 300 or 400 men. He says as he came to City Point there was an army three miles long (Longstreet's, he thought) moving toward Richmond.

Milroy has captured a despatch of General Lee, in which he says his loss was fearful in his last battle with you. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., May 13, 1863. 1 p. m.

Major-General Hooker.

If it will not interfere with the service, nor personally incommode you, please come up and see me this evening. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, May 14, 1863.
Major-General Hooker, Commanding.

My dear Sir: When I wrote on the 7th, I had an impression that possibly by an early movement you could get some advantage from the supposed facts that the enemy's communications were disturbed, and that he was somewhat deranged in position. That idea has now passed away, the enemy having reëstablished his communications, regained his positions, and actually received reinforcements. It does not now appear probable to me that you can gain anything by an early renewal of the attempt to cross the Rappahannock. I therefore shall not complain if you do no more for a time than to keep the enemy at bay and out of other mischief by menaces and occasional cavalry raids, if practicable, and to put your own army in good condition again. Still, if in your own clear judgment you can renew the attack successfully, I do not mean to restrain you. Bearing upon this last point, I must tell you that I have some painful intimations that some of your corps and division commanders are not giving you their entire confidence. This would be ruinous, if true, and you should therefore, first of all, ascertain the real facts beyond all possibility of doubt.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 5, 1863. 4 p. m.
Major-General Hooker.

Yours of to-day was received an hour ago. So much of professional military skill is requisite to answer it, that I have turned the task over to General Halleck. He promises to perform it

with his utmost care. I have but one idea which I think worth suggesting to you, and that is, in case you find Lee coming to the north of the Rappahannock, I would by no means cross to the south of it. If he should leave a rear force at Fredericksburg, tempting you to fall upon it, it would fight in intrenchments and have you at disadvantage, and so, man for man, worst you at that point, while his main force would in some way be getting an advantage of you northward. In one word, I would not take any risk of being entangled upon the river, like an ox jumped half over a fence and liable to be torn by dogs front and rear without a fair chance to gore one way or kick the other. If Lee would come to my side of the river, I would keep on the same side, and fight him or act on the defense, according as might be my estimate of his strength relatively to my own. But these are mere suggestions which I desire to be controlled by the judgment of yourself and General Halleck.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 10, 1863. 6.40 p. m.

Major-General Hooker.

Your long despatch of to-day is just received. If left to me, I would not go south of the Rappahannock upon Lee's moving north of it. If you had Richmond invested to-day, you would not be able to take it in twenty days; meanwhile your communications, and with them your army, would be ruined. I think Lee's army, and not Richmond is your true objective point. If he comes toward the upper Potomac, follow on his flank and on his inside track, shortening your

lines while he lengthens his. Fight him, too, when opportunity offers. If he stays where he is, fret him and fret him. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram in Cipher.*]

Executive Mansion, June 13, 1863.

Major-General Hooker.

I was coming down this afternoon, but if you would prefer I should not, I shall blame you if you do not tell me so. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 14, 1863. 5.50 p. m.

Major-General Hooker.

So far as we can make out here, the enemy have Milroy surrounded at Winchester and Tyler at Martinsburg. If they could hold out a few days, could you help them? If the head of Lee's army is at Martinsburg and the tail of it on the plank road between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, the animal must be very slim somewhere. Could you not break him?

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 14, 1863. 11.55 p. m.

Major-General Hooker.

Yours of 11.30 [*11.15*] just received. You have nearly all the elements for forming an opinion whether Winchester is surrounded that I have. I really fear—almost believe—it is. . . . It is quite certain that a considerable force of the enemy is thereabout, and I fear it is an overwhelming one compared with Milroy's. I am unable to give you any more certain opinions.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 15, 1863. 8.30 p. m.
Major-General Hooker, Fairfax Station.

The facts are now known here that Winchester and Martinsburg were both besieged yesterday. The troops from Martinsburg have got into Harper's Ferry without loss. Those from Winchester are also in, having lost in killed, wounded, and missing about one-third of their number. Of course, the enemy holds both places, and I think the report is authentic that he is crossing the Potomac at Williamsport. We have not heard of his yet appearing at Harper's Ferry or on the river anywhere below. I would like to hear from you. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 16, 1863. 10 p. m.
Major-General Hooker.

To remove all misunderstanding, I now place you in the strict military relation to General Halleck of a commander of one of the armies to the general-in-chief of all the armies. I have not intended differently, but as it seems to be differently understood I shall direct him to give you orders, and you to obey them. A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, June 16, 1863.
My dear General.

I send you this by the hand of Captain Dahlgren. Your despatch of 11.30 a. m. to-day is just received. When you say I have long been aware that you do not enjoy the confidence of

the major-general commanding, you state the case much too strongly.

You do not lack his confidence in any degree to do you any harm. On seeing him, after telegraphing you this morning, I found him more nearly agreeing with you than I was myself. Surely you do not mean to understand that I am withholding my confidence from you when I happen to express an opinion (certainly never discourteously) differing from one of your own.

I believe Halleck is dissatisfied with you to this extent only, that he knows that you write and telegraph ("report," as he calls it) to me. I think he is wrong to find fault with this; but I do not think he withholds any support from you on account of it. If you and he would use the same frankness to one another, and to me, that I use to both of you, there would be no difficulty. I need and must have the professional skill of both, and yet these suspicions tend to deprive me of both.

I believe you are aware that since you took command of the army I have not believed you had any chance to effect anything till now. As it looks to me, Lee's now returning toward Harper's Ferry gives you back the chance that I thought McClellan lost last fall. Quite possibly I was wrong both then and now; but, in the great responsibility resting upon me, I cannot be entirely silent. Now, all I ask is that you will be in such mood that we can get into our action the best cordial judgment of yourself and General Halleck, with my poor mite added, if indeed he and you shall think it entitled to any consideration at all. Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

THURLOW WEED.

Washington, January 29, 1863.

Hon. Thurlow Weed.

Dear Sir: Your valedictory to the patrons of the Albany *Evening Journal* brings me a good deal of uneasiness. What does it mean?

Truly yours, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, October 14, 1863.

Hon. Thurlow Weed.

My dear Sir: I have been brought to fear recently that somehow, by commission or omission, I have caused you some degree of pain. I have never entertained an unkind feeling or a disparaging thought toward you; and if I have said or done anything which has been construed into such unkindness or disparagement, it has been misconstrued. I am sure if we could meet we would not part with any unpleasant impression on either side.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 25, 1864.

Hon. Thurlow Weed.

My dear Sir: I have been both pained and surprised recently at learning that you are wounded because a suggestion of yours as to the mode of conducting our national difficulty has not been followed—pained because I very much wish you to have no unpleasant feeling proceeding from me, and surprised, because my impression is that I have seen you since the last message issued, apparently feeling very cheerful and happy. How is this?

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 15, 1865.

Dear Mr. Weed:

Every one likes a compliment. Thank you for yours on my little notification speech and on the recent inaugural address. I expect the latter to wear as well as—perhaps better than—anything I have produced; but I believe it is not immediately popular. Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them. To deny it, however, in this case, is to deny that there is a God governing the world. It is a truth which I thought needed to be told, and, as whatever of humiliation there is in it falls most directly on myself, I thought others might afford for me to tell it. Truly yours, A. Lincoln.

Working-men of London, England.

Executive Mansion, February 2, 1863.

To the Working-men of London: I have received the New Year's address which you have sent me, with a sincere appreciation of the exalted and humane sentiments by which it was inspired.

As these sentiments are manifestly the enduring support of the free institutions of England, so I am sure also that they constitute the only reliable basis for free institutions throughout the world.

The resources, advantages, and powers of the American people are very great, and they have consequently succeeded to equally great responsibilities. It seems to have devolved upon them to test whether a government established on the principles of human freedom can be maintained

against an effort to build one upon the exclusive foundation of human bondage. They will rejoice with me in the new evidences which your proceedings furnish that the magnanimity they are exhibiting is justly estimated by the true friends of freedom and humanity in foreign countries.

Accept my best wishes for your individual welfare, and for the welfare and happiness of the whole British people.

Abraham Lincoln.

See letter to Working-men of Manchester, England.

Alexander Reed.

Executive Mansion, February 22, 1863.

Rev. Alexander Reed.

My dear Sir: Your note, by which you, as general superintendent of the United States Christian Commission, invite me to preside at a meeting to be held this day at the hall of the House of Representatives in this city, is received.

While, for reasons which I deem sufficient, I must decline to preside, I cannot withhold my approval of the meeting and its worthy objects. Whatever shall be sincerely, and in God's name, devised for the good of the soldier and seaman in their hard spheres of duty, can scarcely fail to be blest. And whatever shall tend to turn our thoughts from the unreasoning and uncharitable passions, prejudices, and jealousies incident to a great national trouble such as ours, and to fix them upon the vast and long-enduring consequences, for weal or for woe, which are to result from the struggle, and especially to strengthen our reliance on the Supreme Being for the final

triumph of the right, cannot but be well for us all.

The birthday of Washington and the Christian Sabbath coinciding this year, and suggesting together the highest interests of this life and of that to come, is most propitious for the meeting proposed.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Henry Winter Davis.

Executive Mansion, March 18, 1863.

Hon. Henry Winter Davis.

My dear Sir: There will be in the new House of Representatives, as there were in the old, some members openly opposing the war, some supporting it unconditionally, and some supporting it with "buts," and "ifs," and "ands." They will divide on the organization of the House—on the election of a Speaker. As you ask my opinion, I give it, that the supporters of the war should send no man to Congress who will not pledge himself to go into caucus with the unconditional supporters of the war, and to abide the action of such caucus and vote for the person therein nominated for Speaker. Let the friends of the Government first save the Government, and then administer it to their own liking. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

P. S. This is not for publication, but to prevent misunderstanding of what I verbally said to you yesterday. A. L.

Horatio Seymour.[1]

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Executive Mansion, March 23, 1863.

His Excellency Governor Seymour.

Dear Sir: You and I are substantially strangers, and I write this chiefly that we may become better acquainted. I, for the time being, am at the head of a nation that is in great peril, and you are at the head of the greatest State of that nation. As to maintaining the nation's life and integrity, I assume and believe there cannot be a difference of purpose between you and me. If we should differ as to the means, it is important that such difference should be as small as possible; that it should not be enhanced by unjust suspicions on one side or the other. In the performance of my duty the coöperation of your State, as that of others, is needed—in fact, is indispensable. This alone is a sufficient reason why I should wish to be at a good understanding with you. Please write me at least as long a letter as this, of course saying in it just what you think fit.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

During the absence of the New York militia at Gettysburg, draft riots broke out in the city. The Governor hastened thither and addressed the mob, promising that their grievances would be redressed. He then

[1] Seymour was elected Governor of New York in 1862. In his inaugural message of January 7, 1863, he declared that "the mischievous opinion that . . . the North must subjugate and destroy the South to save our Union has weakened the hopes of our citizens at home, and destroyed confidence in our success abroad." Lincoln set about seeking the confidence of this powerful executive.

wrote the President asking to have the draft stopped that New York might fill her quota with volunteers.

Executive Mansion, August 7, 1863.

His Excellency Horatio Seymour, Governor of New York.

Your communication of the third instant has been received and attentively considered.

I cannot consent to suspend the draft in New York, as you request, because, among other reasons, time is too important. . . .

I do not object to abide a decision of the United States Supreme Court, or of the judges thereof, on the constitutionality of the draft law. In fact, I should be willing to facilitate the obtaining of it, but I cannot consent to lose the time while it is being obtained. We are contending with an enemy, who, as I understand, drives every able-bodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter-pen. No time is wasted, no argument is used. This produces an army which will soon turn upon our now victorious soldiers, already in the field, if they shall not be sustained by recruits as they should be. It produces an army with a rapidity not to be matched by our side, if we first waste time to reëxperiment with the volunteer system already deemed by Congress, and palpably, in fact, so far exhausted as to be inadequate, and then more time to obtain a court decision as to whether a law is constitutional which requires a part of those not now in the service to go to the aid of those who are already in it, and still more time to determine with absolute certainty that we get those who are to go in the precisely legal proportion to

those who are not to go. My purpose is to be in my action just and constitutional, and yet practical, in performing the important duty with which I am charged, of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our common country.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, August 16, 1863.

Governor Seymour, New York.

Your despatch of this morning is just received, and I fear I do not perfectly understand it.

My view of the principle is that every soldier obtained voluntarily leaves one less to be obtained by draft. The only difficulty is in applying the principle properly. Looking to time, as heretofore, I am unwilling to give up a drafted man now, even for the certainty, much less for the mere chance of getting a volunteer hereafter. Again, after the draft in any district, would it not make trouble to take any drafted man out and put a volunteer in, for how shall it be determined which drafted man is to have the privilege of thus going out, to the exclusion of all the others? And even before the draft in any district the quota must be fixed; and the draft might be postponed indefinitely if every time a volunteer is offered the officers must stop and reconstruct the quota. At least I fear there might be this difficulty; but, at all events, let credits for volunteers be given up to the last moment, which will not produce confusion or delay. That the principle of giving credits for volunteers shall be applied by districts seems fair and proper, though I do not know how far by present statistics it is practicable. When for any cause a fair credit is not given at one time, it

should be given as soon thereafter as practicable. My purpose is to be just and fair, and yet to not lose time. A. Lincoln.

See letter of August 26, 1863, to Edwin M. Stanton, and of February 27, 1864.

On July 5, 1864, upon the invasion of Maryland by General Jubal A. Early, the President wrote Governor Seymour calling on him for 12,000 militia for one hundred days' service.

J. E. Bouligny.

Executive Mansion, April 14, 1863.

Hon. J. E. Bouligny.

My dear Sir: I did not certainly know the object of your call yesterday, but I had a strong impression in regard to it. When our national troubles began, you and I were not personally acquainted, but all I heard of you placed you in my estimation foremost among Louisianians as a friend of the Union. I intended to find you a position, and I did not conceal my inclination to do so. When, last autumn, you bore a letter from me to some parties at New Orleans, you seemed to expect, and consequently I did expect, you would return here as a member of one or the other branch of Congress. But you were not so returned, and this negative evidence, with other of like character, brings me to think that the Union people there for some reason prefer others for the places there. Add to this that the head of the department here in which finding a place for you was contemplated, is not satisfied for the appointment to be made, and it presents, as you see, an embarrassing case for me. My

personal feelings for Mr. Bouligny are not less kind than heretofore.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

On being appealed to by a member of one of the warring Union factions in Missouri, who asked: "Shall we be sustained by you?" the President, on April 16, 1863, replied: "I have stoutly tried to keep out of the quarrel, and so mean to do."

F. L. Capen.

[*Indorsement on Letter.*]

It seems to me Mr. Capen knows nothing about the weather in advance. He told me three days ago that it would not rain again till the 30th of April or 1st of May. It is raining now, and has been for ten hours. I cannot spare any more time to Mr. Capen. A. Lincoln.

April 28, 1863.

John M. Schofield.

Executive Mansion, May 27, 1863.

General John M. Schofield.

My dear Sir: Having relieved General Curtis and assigned you to the command of the Department of the Missouri, I think it may be of some advantage for me to state to you why I did it. I did not relieve General Curtis because of any full conviction that he had done wrong by commission or omission. I did it because of a conviction in my mind that the Union men of Missouri, constituting, when united, a vast majority of the whole people, have entered into a pestilent factional quarrel among themselves—General Curtis, perhaps not of choice, being the

head of one faction and Governor Gamble that of the other. After months of labor to reconcile the difficulty, it seemed to grow worse and worse, until I felt it my duty to break it up somehow; and as I could not remove Governor Gamble, I had to remove General Curtis. Now that you are in the position I wish you to undo nothing merely because General Curtis or Governor Gamble did it, but to exercise your own judgment, and do right for the public interest. Let your military measures be strong enough to repel the invader and keep the peace, and not so strong as to unnecessarily harass and persecute the people. It is a difficult rôle, and so much greater will be the honor if you perform it well. If both factions, or neither, shall abuse you, you will probably be about right. Beware of being assailed by one and praised by the other.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, June 22, 1863.

General John M. Schofield.

My dear Sir: Your despatch, asking in substance whether, in case Missouri shall adopt gradual emancipation, the General Government will protect slave-owners in that species of property during the short time it shall be permitted by the State to exist within it, has been received. Desirous as I am that emancipation shall be adopted by Missouri, and believing as I do that gradual can be made better than immediate for both black and white, except when military necessity changes the case, my impulse is to say that such protection would be given. I cannot know exactly what shape an act of emancipation may take. If the period from the initiation to

the final end should be comparatively short, and the act should prevent persons being sold during that period into more lasting slavery, the whole would be easier. I do not wish to pledge the General Government to the affirmative support of even temporary slavery beyond what can be fairly claimed under the Constitution. I suppose, however, this is not desired, but that it is desired for the military force of the United States, while in Missouri, to not be used in subverting the temporarily reserved legal rights in slaves during the progress of emancipation. This I would desire also. I have very earnestly urged the slave States to adopt emancipation; and it ought to be, and is, an object with me not to overthrow or thwart what any of them may in good faith do to that end. You are therefore authorized to act in the spirit of this letter in conjunction with what may appear to be the military necessities of your department. Although this letter will become public at some time, it is not intended to be made so now.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

See letter of July 23, 1863, to Hamilton R. Gamble.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C.,
August 27, 1863. 8.30 a. m.

General Schofield, St. Louis.

I have just received the despatch which follows from two very influential citizens of Kansas, whose names I omit. The severe blow they have received naturally enough makes them intemperate even without there being any just cause for blame. Please do your utmost to give

them future security and to punish their invaders. A. Lincoln.

On September 30, 1863, the President wrote General Schofield, at Saint Louis, Mo., enclosing a despatch which stated that Union men were being driven out of Missouri.

The President asked General Schofield to look into the matter, "and if true, in whole or part, put a stop to it."

Executive Mansion, October 1, 1863.

General John M. Schofield.

There is no organized military force in avowed opposition to the General Government now in Missouri, and if any such shall reappear, your duty in regard to it will be too plain to require any special instruction. Still, the condition of things both there and elsewhere is such as to render it indispensable to maintain for a time the United States military establishment in that State, as well as to rely upon it for a fair contribution of support to that establishment generally. Your immediate duty in regard to Missouri now is to advance the efficiency of that establishment, and to so use it as far as practicable to compel the excited people there to leave one another alone. Under your recent order, which I have approved, you will only arrest individuals and suppress assemblies or newspapers when they may be working palpable injury to the military in your charge, and in no other case will you interfere with the expression of opinion in any form or allow it to be interfered with violently by others. In this you have a discretion to exercise with great caution, calmness, and forbearance. With the matters of removing the inhabitants of certain counties *en masse,* and

of removing certain individuals from time to time who are supposed to be mischievous, I am not now interfering, but am leaving to your own discretion. Nor am I interfering with what may still seem to you to be necessary restrictions upon trade and intercourse. I think proper, however, to enjoin upon you the following:

Allow no part of the military under your command to be engaged in either returning fugitive slaves or in forcing or enticing slaves from their homes, and, so far as practicable, enforce the same forbearance upon the people.

Report to me your opinion upon the availability for good of the enrolled militia of the State.

Allow no one to enlist colored troops except upon orders from you or from here, through you.

Allow no one to assume the functions of confiscating property under the law of Congress, or otherwise, except upon orders from here.

At elections see that those, and only those, are allowed to vote who are entitled to do so by the laws of Missouri, including, as of those laws, the restriction laid by the Missouri convention upon those who may have participated in the rebellion.

So far as practicable, you will, by means of your military force, expel guerrillas, marauders, and murderers, and all who are known to harbor, aid, or abet them. But in like manner you will repress assumptions of unauthorized individuals to perform the same service because, under pretense of doing this, they become marauders and murderers themselves.

To now restore peace, let the military obey orders, and those not of the military leave each

other alone, thus not breaking the peace themselves.

In giving the above directions, it is not intended to restrain you in other expedient and necessary matters not falling within their range.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

See letter of October 5, 1863, to Charles D. Drake.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Executive Mansion, October 28, 1863.

General John M. Schofield.

There have recently reached the War Department, and thence been laid before me, from Missouri, three communications, all similar in import and identical in object. . . . The general statements of the whole are that the Federal and State authorities are arming the disloyal and disarming the loyal, and that the latter will all be killed or driven out of the State unless there shall be a change. . . . These papers contain altogether thirty-one manuscript pages, and one newspaper *in extenso,* and yet I do not find it anywhere charged in them that any loyal man has been harmed by reason of being disarmed, or that any disloyal one has harmed anybody by reason of being armed by the Federal or State Government. Of course, I have not had time to carefully examine all; but I have had most of them examined and briefed by others, and the result is as stated. The remarkable fact that the actual evil is yet only anticipated—inferred—induces me to suppose I understand the case; but I do not state my impression, because I might be mistaken, and because your duty and mine is plain in any event. The locality of

nearly all this seems to be St. Joseph and Buchanan County. I wish you to give special attention to this region, particularly on election day. Prevent violence from whatever quarter, and see that the soldiers themselves do no wrong. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

See letter of September 26, 1864, to W. S. Rosecrans.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., November 10, 1863.

General Schofield, Saint Louis, Mo.

I see a despatch here from Saint Louis, which is a little difficult for me to understand. It says "General Schofield has refused leave of absence to members in military service to attend the legislature. All such are radical and administration men. The election of two Senators from this place on Thursday will probably turn upon this thing." What does this mean? Of course members of the legislature must be allowed to attend its sessions. But how is there a session before the recent election returns are in? And how is it to be at "this place"—and that is Saint Louis? Please inform me. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, November 11, 1863.

General Schofield, Saint Louis, Mo.

I believe the Secretary of War has telegraphed you about members of the legislature. At all events, allow those in the service to attend the session, and we can afterward decide whether they can stay through the entire session.

A. Lincoln.

William Cullen Bryant.

Washington, May 14, 1863.

Mr. W. C. Bryant.

My dear Sir: Yours, requesting that General Sigel may be again assigned to command, is received. Allow me to briefly explain. I kept General Sigel in command for several months, he requesting to resign or to be relieved. At length, at his urgent and repeated solicitation, he was relieved. Now it is inconvenient to assign him a command without relieving or depriving some other officer who is not asking and perhaps would object to being so disposed of.

This is one of a class of cases, and you perceive how embarrassing they are.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

On June 27, 1864, the President answered a complaint of Mr. Bryant that a certain Mr. Henderson had been removed from office and arrested. Said the President:

I shall be very glad indeed if he shall, as you anticipate, establish his innocence; or, to state it more strongly and properly, "if the Government shall fail to establish his guilt." I believe, however, the man who made the affidavit was of as spotless reputation as Mr. Henderson, until he was arrested on what his friends insist was outrageously insufficient evidence. I know the entire city government of Washington, with many other respectable citizens, appealed to me in his behalf as a greatly injured gentleman.

While the subject is up, may I ask whether the *Evening Post* has not assailed me for supposed too lenient dealing with persons charged

with fraud and crime? And that in cases of which the *Post* could know but little of the facts? I shall certainly deal as leniently with Mr. Henderson as I have felt it my duty to deal with others, notwithstanding any newspaper assaults.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

H. T. Blow and Others.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, May 15, 1863.

Hon. H. T. Blow, C. D. Drake, and Others, St. Louis, Missouri.

Your despatch of to-day is just received. It is very painful to me that you in Missouri cannot or will not settle your factional quarrel among yourselves. I have been tormented with it beyond endurance for months by both sides. Neither side pays the least respect to my appeals to your reason. I am now compelled to take hold of the case. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, July 13, 1863.

Hon. H. T. Blow, St. Louis, Mo.

I saw your despatch to the Secretary of War. The publication of a letter without the leave of the writer or the receiver I think cannot be justified, but in this case I do not think it of sufficient consequence to justify an arrest; and again, the arrest being, through a parole, merely nominal, does not deserve the importance sought to be attached to it. Cannot this small matter be dropped on both sides without further difficulty? A. Lincoln.

F. J. Herron.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 17, 1863.

Major-General F. J. Herron, Rolla, Missouri.

Your despatch threatening to resign rather than to serve under General Schofield has been received and shown to the President. He directs me to say that he is unaware of any valid objection to General Schofield, he having recently commanded the Department of the Missouri, giving almost universal satisfaction so far as the President ever heard. He directs me to add that he has appreciated the services of General Herron and rewarded them by rapid promotions; but that, even in him, insubordination will be met as insubordination, and that your resignation will be acted upon as circumstances may require whenever it is tendered.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

Charles Sumner.[1]

Executive Mansion, June 1, 1863.

Hon. Charles Sumner.

My dear Sir: In relation to the matter spoken of Saturday morning and this morning—to wit, the raising of colored troops in the North, with the understanding that they shall be commanded by General Frémont—I have to say:

That while it is very objectionable, as a general rule, to have troops raised on any special

[1] Senator Sumner represented the extreme abolitionist sentiment in the Union, and throughout the war was the consistent advocate of emancipation and other interests of the negro.

terms, such as to serve only under a particular commander or only at a particular place or places, yet I would forego the objection in this case upon a fair prospect that a large force of this sort could thereby be the more rapidly raised.

That being raised, say to the number of ten thousand, I would very cheerfully send them to the field under General Frémont, assigning him a department, made or to be made, with such white force also as I might be able to put in.

That with the best wishes toward General Frémont, I cannot now give him a department, because I have not spare troops to furnish a new department, and I have not, as I think, justifiable ground to relieve the present commander of any old one. In the raising of the colored troops, the same consent of governors would have to be obtained as in case of white troops, and the Government would make the same provision for them during organization as for white troops.

It would not be a point with me whether General Frémont should take charge of the organization, or take charge of the force only after the organization.

If you think fit to communicate this to General Frémont, you are at liberty to do so.[1]

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Democratic Meeting at Albany.

Clement L. Vallandigham, ex-member of Congress from Ohio, had been sent South for speaking against the prosecution of the war. Democratic meetings were held throughout the North to protest against this action.

[1] General Frémont declined the command. Had he accepted it before the close of the war he would have commanded 200,000 troops, an army second only to Grant's.

One was held at Albany, N. Y., on May 16, which passed denunciatory resolutions, and sent them to the President. To these he replied as follows:

Executive Mansion, June 12, 1863.

Hon. Erastus Corning and Others.

Gentlemen: Your letter of May 19, inclosing the resolutions of a public meeting held at Albany, New York, on the 16th of the same month, was received several days ago.

The resolutions, as I understand them, are resolvable into two propositions—first, the expression of a purpose to sustain the cause of the Union, to secure peace through victory, and to support the Administration in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion; and, secondly, a declaration of censure upon the Administration for supposed unconstitutional action, such as the making of military arrests. And from the two propositions a third is deduced, which is that the gentlemen composing the meeting are resolved on doing their part to maintain our common government and country, despite the folly or wickedness, as they may conceive, of any administration. This position is eminently patriotic, and as such I thank the meeting, and congratulate the nation for it. My own purpose is the same; so that the meeting and myself have a common object, and can have no difference, except in the choice of means or measures for effecting that object.

And here I ought to close this paper, and would close it if there were no apprehension that more injurious consequences than any merely personal to myself might follow the censures systematically cast upon me for doing what, in my view of duty, I could not forbear.

The resolutions promise to support me in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion; and I have not knowingly employed, nor shall knowingly employ, any other. But the meeting, by their resolutions, assert and argue that certain military arrests, and proceedings following them, for which I am ultimately responsible, are unconstitutional. I think they are not. The resolutions quote from the Constitution the definition of treason, and also the limiting safeguards and guarantees therein provided for the citizen on trials for treason, and on his being held to answer for capital or otherwise infamous crimes, and in criminal prosecutions his right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury. They proceed to resolve "that these safeguards of the rights of the citizen against the pretensions of arbitrary power were intended more especially for his protection in times of civil commotion." And, apparently to demonstrate the proposition, the resolutions proceed: "They were secured substantially to the English people after years of protracted civil war, and were adopted into our Constitution at the close of the Revolution." Would not the demonstration have been better if it could have been truly said that these safeguards had been adopted and applied during the civil wars and during our Revolution, instead of after the one and at the close of the other? I, too, am devotedly for them after civil war, and before civil war, and at all times, "except when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require" their suspension. The resolutions proceed to tell us that these safeguards "have stood the test of seventy-six years of trial under

our republican system, under circumstances which show that while they constitute the foundation of all free government, they are the elements of the enduring stability of the republic." No one denies that they have so stood the test up to the beginning of the present rebellion, if we except a certain occurrence at New Orleans hereafter to be mentioned; nor does any one question that they will stand the same test much longer after the rebellion closes. But these provisions of the Constitution have no application to the case we have in hand, because the arrests complained of were not made for treason—that is, not for the treason defined in the Constitution, and upon the conviction of which the punishment is death—nor yet were they made to hold persons to answer for any capital or otherwise infamous crimes; nor were the proceedings following, in any constitutional or legal sense, "criminal prosecutions." The arrests were made on totally different grounds, and the proceedings following accorded with the grounds of the arrests. Let us consider the real case with which we are dealing, and apply to it the parts of the Constitution plainly made for such cases.

Prior to my installation here it had been inculcated that any State had a lawful right to secede from the national Union, and that it would be expedient to exercise the right whenever the devotees of the doctrine should fail to elect a president to their own liking. I was elected contrary to their liking; and, accordingly, so far as it was legally possible, they had taken seven States out of the Union, had seized many of the United States forts, and had fired upon the United States flag, all before I was inau-

gurated, and, of course, before I had done any official act whatever. The rebellion thus begun soon ran into the present civil war; and, in certain respects, it began on very unequal terms between the parties. The insurgents had been preparing for it more than thirty years, while the Government had taken no steps to resist them. The former had carefully considered all the means which could be turned to their account. It undoubtedly was a well-pondered reliance with them that in their own unrestricted effort to destroy Union, Constitution, and law all together, the Government would, in great degree, be restrained by the same Constitution and law from arresting their progress. Their sympathizers pervaded all departments of the Government and nearly all communities of the people. From this material under cover of "liberty of speech," "liberty of the press," and *"habeas corpus,"* they hoped to keep on foot amongst us a most efficient corps of spies, informers, suppliers, and aiders and abettors of their cause in a thousand ways. They knew that in times such as they were inaugurating, by the Constitution itself the *"habeas corpus"* might be suspended; but they also knew they had friends who would make a question as to who was to suspend it; meanwhile their spies and others might remain at large to help on their cause. Or if, as has happened, the Executive should suspend the writ without ruinous waste of time, instances of arresting innocent persons might occur, as are always likely to occur in such cases; and then a clamor could be raised in regard to this, which might be at least of some service to the insurgent cause. It needed

no very keen perception to discover this part of the enemy's programme, so soon as by open hostilities their machinery was fairly put in motion. Yet, thoroughly imbued with a reverence for the guaranteed rights of individuals, I was slow to adopt the strong measures which by degrees I have been forced to regard as being within the exceptions of the Constitution, and as indispensable to the public safety. Nothing is better known to history than that the courts of justice are utterly incompetent in such cases. Civil courts are organized chiefly for trials of individuals, or, at most, a few individuals acting in concert—and this in quiet times, and on charges of crimes well defined in the law. Even in times of peace bands of horse-thieves and robbers frequently grow too numerous and powerful for the ordinary courts of justice. But what comparison, in numbers, have such bands ever borne to the insurgent sympathizers even in many of the loyal States? Again, a jury too frequently has at least one member more ready to hang the panel than to hang the traitor. And yet again, he who dissuades one man from volunteering, or induces one soldier to desert, weakens the Union cause as much as he who kills a Union soldier in battle. Yet this dissuasion or inducement may be so conducted as to be no defined crime of which any civil court would take cognizance.

Ours is a case of rebellion—so called by the resolutions before me—in fact, a clear, flagrant, and gigantic case of rebellion; and the provision of the Constitution that "the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion,

the public safety may require it," is the provision which specially applies to our present case. This provision plainly attests the understanding of those who made the Constitution that ordinary courts of justice are inadequate to "cases of rebellion"—attests their purpose that, in such cases, men may be held in custody whom the courts, acting on ordinary rules, would discharge. *Habeas corpus* does not discharge men who are proved to be guilty of defined crime; and its suspension is allowed by the Constitution on purpose that men may be arrested and held who cannot be proved to be guilty of defined crime, "when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it."

This is precisely our present case—a case of rebellion wherein the public safety does require the suspension. Indeed, arrests by process of courts and arrests in cases of rebellion do not proceed altogether upon the same basis. The former is directed at the small percentage of ordinary and continuous perpetration of crime, while the latter is directed at sudden and extensive uprisings against the Government, which, at most, will succeed or fail in no great length of time. In the latter case arrests are made not so much for what has been done, as for what probably would be done. The latter is more for the preventive and less for the vindictive than the former. In such cases the purposes of men are much more easily understood than in cases of ordinary crime. The man who stands by and says nothing when the peril of his government is discussed, cannot be misunderstood. If not hindered, he is sure to help the enemy; much more if he talks ambiguously—talks for

his country with "buts," and "ifs" and "ands." Of how little value the constitutional provision I have quoted will be rendered if arrests shall never be made until defined crimes shall have been committed, may be illustrated by a few notable examples: General John C. Breckinridge, General Robert E. Lee, General Joseph E. Johnston, General John B. Magruder, General William B. Preston, General Simon B. Buckner, and Commodore Franklin Buchanan, now occupying the very highest places in the rebel war service, were all within the power of the Government since the rebellion began, and were nearly as well known to be traitors then as now. Unquestionably if we had seized and held them, the insurgent cause would be much weaker. But no one of them had then committed any crime defined in the law. Every one of them, if arrested, would have been discharged on *habeas corpus* were the writ allowed to operate. In view of these and similar cases, I think the time not unlikely to come when I shall be blamed for having made too few arrests rather than too many.

By the third resolution the meeting indicate their opinion that military arrests may be constitutional in localities where rebellion actually exists, but that such arrests are unconstitutional in localities where rebellion or insurrection does not actually exist. They insist that such arrests shall not be made "outside of the lines of necessary military occupation and the scenes of insurrection." Inasmuch, however, as the Constitution itself makes no such distinction, I am unable to believe that there is any such constitutional distinction. I concede that the class of

arrests complained of can be constitutional only when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require them; and I insist that in such cases they are constitutional wherever the public safety does require them, as well in places to which they may prevent the rebellion extending, as in those where it may be already prevailing; as well where they may restrain mischievous interference with the raising and supplying of armies to suppress the rebellion, as where the rebellion may actually be; as well where they may restrain the enticing men out of the army, as where they would prevent mutiny in the army; equally constitutional at all places where they will conduce to the public safety as against the dangers of rebellion or invasion. Take the particular case mentioned by the meeting. It is asserted in substance, that Mr. Vallandigham was, by a military commander, seized and tried "for no other reason than words addressed to a public meeting in criticism of the course of the Administration, and in condemnation of the military orders of the general." Now, if there be no mistake about this, if this assertion is the truth, and the whole truth, if there was no other reason for the arrest, then I concede that the arrest was wrong. But the arrest as I undersand, was made for a very different reason. Mr. Vallandigham avows his hostility to the war on the part of the Union; and his arrest was made because he was laboring, with some effect, to prevent the raising of troops, to encourage desertions from the army, and to leave the rebellion without an adequate military force to suppress it. He was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects

of the Administration or the personal interests of the commanding general, but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the nation depends. He was warring upon the military, and this gave the military constitutional jurisdiction to lay hands upon him. If Mr. Vallandigham was not damaging the military power of the country, then his arrest was made on mistake of fact, which I would be glad to correct on reasonably satisfactory evidence.

I understand the meeting whose resolutions I am considering to be in favor of suppressing the rebellion by military force—by armies. Long experience has shown that armies cannot be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. The case requires, and the law and the Constitution sanction, this punishment. Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? This is none the less injurious when effected by getting a father, or brother, or friend into a public meeting, and there working upon his feelings till he is persuaded to write the soldier boy that he is fighting in a bad cause, for a wicked administration of a contemptible government, too weak to arrest and punish him if he shall desert. I think that, in such a case, to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy.

If I be wrong on this question of constitutional power, my error lies in believing that certain proceedings are constitutional when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety requires them, which would not be constitutional

when, in absence of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does not require them: in other words, that the Constitution is not in its application in all respects the same in cases of rebellion or invasion involving the public safety, as it is in times of profound peace and public security. The Constitution itself makes the distinction, and I can no more be persuaded that the Government can constitutionally take no strong measures in time of rebellion, because it can be shown that the same could not be lawfully taken in time of peace, than I can be persuaded that a particular drug is not good medicine for a sick man because it can be shown to not be good food for a well one. Nor am I able to appreciate the danger apprehended by the meeting, that the American people will by means of military arrests during the rebellion lose the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and the press, the law of evidence, trial by jury, and *habeas corpus* throughout the indefinite peaceful future which I trust lies before them, any more than I am able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life.

In giving the resolutions that earnest consideration which you request of me, I cannot overlook the fact that the meeting speak as "Democrats." Nor can I, with full respect for their known intelligence, and the fairly presumed deliberation with which they prepared their resolutions, be permitted to suppose that this occurred by accident, or in any way other than that they preferred to designate themselves "Democrats" rather than "American citizens." In this time

of national peril I would have preferred to meet you upon a level one step higher than any party platform, because I am sure that from such more elevated position we could do better battle for the country we all love than we possibly can from those lower ones where, from the force of habit, the prejudices of the past, and selfish hopes of the future, we are sure to expend much of our ingenuity and strength in finding fault with and aiming blows at each other. But since you have denied me this, I will yet be thankful for the country's sake that not all Democrats have done so. He on whose discretionary judgment Mr. Vallandigham was arrested and tried is a Democrat having no old party affinity with me, and the judge who rejected the constitutional view expressed in these resolutions, by refusing to discharge Mr. Vallandigham on *habeas corpus,* is a Democrat of better days than these, having received his judicial mantle at the hands of President Jackson. And still more, of all those Democrats who are nobly exposing their lives and shedding their blood on the battle-field, I have learned that many approve the course taken with Mr. Vallandigham, while I have not heard of a single one condemning it. I cannot assert that there are none such. And the name of President Jackson recalls an instance of pertinent history. After the battle of New Orleans, and while the fact that the treaty of peace had been concluded was well known in the city, but before official knowledge of it had arrived, General Jackson still maintained martial or military law. Now that it could be said the war was over, the clamor against martial law, which had existed from the first, grew more furious.

Among other things, a Mr. Louaillier published a denunciatory newspaper article. General Jackson arrested him. A lawyer by the name of Morel procured the United States Judge Hall to order a writ of *habeas corpus* to release Mr. Louaillier. General Jackson arrested both the lawyer and the judge. A Mr. Hollander ventured to say of some part of the matter that "it was a dirty trick." General Jackson arrested him. When the officer undertook to serve the writ of *habeas corpus,* General Jackson took it from him, and sent him away with a copy. Holding the judge in custody a few days, the general sent him beyond the limits of his encampment, and set him at liberty with an order to remain till the ratification of peace should be regularly announced, or until the British should have left the southern coast. A day or two more elapsed, the ratification of the treaty of peace was regularly announced, and the judge and others were fully liberated. A few days more and the judge called General Jackson into court and fined him $1,000 for having arrested him and the others named. The general paid the fine, and then the matter rested for nearly thirty years, when Congress refunded principal and interest. The late Senator Douglas, then in the House of Representatives, took a leading part in the debates in which the constitutional question was much discussed. I am not prepared to say whom the journals would show to have voted for the measure.

It may be remarked—first, that we had the same Constitution then as now; secondly, that we then had a case of invasion, and now we have a case of rebellion; and, thirdly, that the

permanent right of the people to public discussion, the liberty of speech and of the press, the trial by jury, the law of evidence, and the *habeas corpus,* suffered no detriment whatever by that conduct of General Jackson, or its subsequent approval by the American Congress.

And yet, let me say that in my own discretion, I do not know whether I would have ordered the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham. While I cannot shift the responsibility from myself, I hold that, as a general rule, the commander in the field is the better judge of the necessity in any particular case. Of course I must practise a general directory and revisory power in the matter.

One of the resolutions expresses the opinion of the meeting that arbitrary arrests will have the effect to divide and distract those who should be united in suppressing the rebellion, and I am specifically called on to discharge Mr. Vallandigham. I regard this as, at least, a fair appeal to me on the expediency of exercising a constitutional power which I think exists. In response to such appeal I have to say, it gave me pain when I learned that Mr. Vallandigham had been arrested (that is, I was pained that there should have seemed to be a necessity for arresting him), and that it will afford me great pleasure to discharge him so soon as I can by any means believe the public safety will not suffer by it.

I further say that, as the war progresses, it appears to me, opinion and action, which were in great confusion at first, take shape and fall into more regular channels, so that the necessity for strong dealing with them gradually de-

creases. I have every reason to desire that it should cease altogether, and far from the least is my regard for the opinions and wishes of those who, like the meeting at Albany, declare their purpose to sustain the Government in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion. Still, I must continue to do so much as may seem to be required by the public safety. A. Lincoln.

Israel D. Andrews.

[*Memorandum.*]

Executive Mansion, June 17, 1863.

Mr. Israel D. Andrews appeals to me, saying he is suffering injury by something I have said of him. I really know very little of Mr. Andrews. As well as I can remember, I was called on by one or two persons asking me to give him or aid him in getting some public employment; and as a reason for declining I stated that I had a very unfavorable opinion of him, chiefly because I had been informed that, in connection with some former service of his to the Government, he had presented an enormous and unjustifiable claim, which I understood he was still pressing the Government to pay. I certainly did not pretend to know anything of the matter personally; and I say now, I do not personally know anything which should detract from Mr. Andrews's character. A. Lincoln.

David Tod.[1]

[*Cipher Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, June 18, 1863.
Governor D. Tod, Columbus, Ohio.

Yours received. I deeply regret that you were not renominated, not that I have aught against Mr. Brough. On the contrary like yourself, I say hurrah for him. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, June 30, 1864.
Hon. David Tod, Youngstown, Ohio.

I have nominated you to be Secretary of the Treasury, in place of Governor Chase, who has resigned. Please come without a moment's delay. A. Lincoln.

E. E. Malhiot and Others.

On June 19, 1863, the President replied to a letter of E. E. Malhiot, Bradish Johnson, and Thomas Cottman, a committee appointed by Louisiana planters to secure Federal recognition of a loyal State government, as follows:

Since receiving the letter, reliable information has reached me that a respectable portion of the Louisiana people desire to amend their State constitution, and contemplate holding a State

[1] David Tod was Governor of Ohio from 1862 to 1864. In the fall of 1863 the Peace Democrats nominated for Governor Clement L. Vallandigham as a protest against the Government's procedure in arresting him, and the Republicans thought it wise to oppose him with a War Democrat, so John Brough was chosen to make the run. Governor Tod declined the President's offer of Secretaryship of the Treasury.

convention for that object. This fact alone, as it seems to me, is a sufficient reason why the General Government should not give the committal you seek to the existing State constitution. I may add that while I do not perceive how such committal could facilitate our military operations in Louisiana, I really apprehend it might be so used as to embarrass them.

As to an election to be held next November, there is abundant time without any order or proclamation from me just now. The people of Louisiana shall not lack an opportunity for a fair election for both Federal and State officers by want of anything within my power to give them. Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Ohio Democratic State Convention.

Washington, D. C., June 29, 1863.

Messrs. M. Birchard [and Others].

Gentlemen: The resolutions of the Ohio Democratic State convention, which you present me, together with your introductory and closing remarks, being in position and argument mainly the same as the resolutions of the Democratic meeting at Albany, New York, I refer you to my response to the latter as meeting most of the points in the former.

This response you evidently used in preparing your remarks, and I desire no more than that it be used with accuracy. In a single reading of your remarks, I only discovered one inaccuracy in matter which I suppose you took from that paper. It is where you say: "The undersigned are unable to agree with you in the opinion you have expressed that the Constitution

is different in time of insurrection or invasion from what it is in time of peace and public security."

A recurrence to the paper will show you that I have not expressed the opinion you suppose. I expressed the opinion that the Constitution is different in its application in cases of rebellion or invasion, involving the public safety, from what it is in times of profound peace and public security; and this opinion I adhere to, simply because, by the Constitution itself, things may be done in the one case which may not be done in the other.

I dislike to waste a word on a merely personal point, but I must respectfully assure you that you will find yourselves at fault should you ever seek for evidence to prove your assumption that I "opposed, in discussions before the people, the policy of the Mexican War."

You say: "Expunge from the Constitution this limitation upon the power of Congress to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* and yet the other guarantees of personal liberty would remain unchanged." Doubtless, if this clause of the Constitution, improperly called, as I think, a limitation upon the power of Congress, were expunged, the other guarantees would remain the same; but the question is not how those guarantees would stand with that clause out of the Constitution, but how they stand with that clause remaining in it, in case of rebellion or invasion involving the public safety. If the liberty could be indulged of expunging that clause, letter and spirit, I really think the constitutional argument would be with you.

My general view on this question was stated

in the Albany response, and hence I do not state it now. I only add that, as seems to me, the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* is the great means through which the guarantees of personal liberty are conserved and made available in the last resort; and corroborative of this view is the fact that Mr. Vallandigham, in the very case in question, under the advice of able lawyers, saw not where else to go but to the *habeas corpus*. But by the Constitution the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* itself may be suspended when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

You ask, in substance, whether I really claim that I may override all the guaranteed rights of individuals, on the plea of conserving the public safety—when I may choose to say the public safety requires it. This question, divested of the phraseology calculated to represent me as struggling for an arbitrary personal prerogative, is either simply a question who shall decide, or an affirmation that nobody shall decide, what the public safety does require in cases of rebellion or invasion.

The Constitution contemplates the question as likely to occur for decision, but it does not expressly declare who is to decide it. By necessary implication, when rebellion or invasion comes, the decision is to be made from time to time; and I think the man whom, for the time, the people have, under the Constitution, made the commander-in-chief of their army and navy, is the man who holds the power and bears the responsibility of making it. If he uses the power justly, the same people will probably justify him; if he abuses it, he is in their hands to be dealt

with by all the modes they have reserved to themselves in the Constitution.

The earnestness with which you insist that persons can only, in times of rebellion, be lawfully dealt with in accordance with the rules for criminal trials and punishments in times of peace, induces me to add a word to what I said on that point in the Albany response.

You claim that men may, if they choose, embarrass those whose duty it is to combat a giant rebellion, and then be dealt with in turn, only as if there were no rebellion. The Constitution itself rejects this view. The military arrests and detentions which have been made, including those of Mr. Vallandigham, which are not different in principle from the others, have been for prevention, and not for punishment—as injunctions to stay injury, as proceedings to keep the peace; and hence, like proceedings in such cases and for like reasons, they have not been accompanied with indictments, or trials by juries, nor in a single case by any punishment whatever, beyond what is purely incidental to the prevention. The original sentence of imprisonment in Mr. Vallandigham's case was to prevent injury to the military service only, and the modification of it was made as a less disagreeable mode to him of securing the same prevention.

I am unable to perceive an insult to Ohio in the case of Mr. Vallandigham. Quite surely nothing of the sort was or is intended. I was wholly unaware that Mr. Vallandigham was, at the time of his arrest, a candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor until so informed by your reading to me the resolutions of the convention. I am grateful to the State of Ohio

for many things, especially for the brave soldiers and officers she has given in the present national trial to the armies of the Union.

You claim, as I understand, that according to my own position in the Albany response, Mr. Vallandigham should be released; and this because, as you claim, he has not damaged the military service by discouraging enlistments, encouraging desertions, or otherwise; and that if he had, he should have been turned over to the civil authorities under the recent acts of Congress. I certainly do not know that Mr. Vallandigham has specifically and by direct language advised against enlistments and in favor of desertion and resistance to drafting.

We all know that combinations, armed in some instances, to resist the arrest of deserters began several months ago; that more recently the like has appeared in resistance to the enrolment preparatory to a draft; and that quite a number of assassinations have occurred from the same animus. These had to be met by military force, and this again has led to bloodshed and death. And now, under a sense of responsibility more weighty and enduring than any which is merely official, I solemnly declare my belief that this hindrance of the military, including maiming and murder, is due to the course in which Mr. Vallandigham has been engaged in a greater degree than to any other cause; and it is due to him personally in a greater degree than to any other one man.

These things have been notorious, known to all, and of course known to Mr. Vallandigham. Perhaps I would not be wrong to say they originated with his special friends and adherents.

With perfect knowledge of them, he has frequently if not constantly made speeches in Congress and before popular assemblies; and if it can be shown that, with these things staring him in the face, he has ever uttered a word of rebuke or counsel against them, it will be a fact greatly in his favor with me, and one of which as yet I am totally ignorant. When it is known that the whole burden of his speeches has been to stir up men against the prosecution of the war, and that in the midst of resistance to it he has not been known in any instance to counsel against such resistance, it is next to impossible to repel the inference that he has counseled directly in favor of it.

With all this before their eyes, the convention you represent have nominated Mr. Vallandigham for governor of Ohio, and both they and you have declared the purpose to sustain the National Union by all constitutional means. But of course they and you in common reserve to yourselves to decide what are constitutional means; and, unlike the Albany meeting, you omit to state or intimate that in your opinion an army is a constitutional means of saving the Union against a rebellion, or even to intimate that you are conscious of an existing rebellion being in progress with the avowed object of destroying that very Union. At the same time your nominee for governor, in whose behalf you appeal, is known to you and to the world to declare against the use of an army to suppress the rebellion. Your own attitude, therefore, encourages desertion, resistance to the draft, and the like, because it teaches those who incline to desert and to escape the draft to believe it is your purpose

to protect them, and to hope that you will become strong enough to do so.

After a short personal intercourse with you, gentlemen of the committee, I cannot say I think you desire this effect to follow your attitude; but I assure you that both friends and enemies of the Union look upon it in this light. It is a substantial hope, and by consequence a real strength to the enemy. If it is a false hope and one which you would willingly dispel, I will make the way exceedingly easy.

I send you duplicates of this letter in order that you, or a majority of you, may, if you choose, indorse your names upon one of them and return it thus indorsed to me with the understanding that those signing are thereby committed to the following propositions and to nothing else:

1. That there is now a rebellion in the United States, the object and tendency of which is to destroy the National Union; and that, in your opinion, an army and navy are constitutional means for suppressing that rebellion;

2. That no one of you will do anything which, in his own judgment, will tend to hinder the increase, or favor the decrease, or lessen the efficiency of the army or navy while engaged in the effort to suppress that rebellion; and

3. That each of you will, in his sphere, do all he can to have the officers, soldiers, and seamen of the army and navy, while engaged in the effort to suppress the rebellion, paid, fed, clad, and otherwise well provided for and supported.

And with the further understanding that upon receiving the letter and names thus indorsed, I will cause them to be published, which publica-

tion shall be, within itself, a revocation of the order in relation to Mr. Vallandigham.[1]

It will not escape observation that I consent to the release of Mr. Vallandigham upon terms not embracing any pledge from him or from others as to what he will or will not do. I do this because he is not present to speak for himself, or to authorize others to speak for him; and because I should expect that on his returning he would not put himself practically in antagonism with the position of his friends. But I do it chiefly because I thereby prevail on other influential gentlemen of Ohio to so define their position as to be of immense value to the army —thus more than compensating for the consequences of any mistake in allowing Mr. Vallandigham to return; so that, on the whole, the public safety will not have suffered by it. Still, in regard to Mr. Vallandigham and all others, I must hereafter, as heretofore, do so much as the public safety may seem to require.

I have the honor to be respectfully yours, etc.,

A. Lincoln.

WILLIAM KELLOGG.

See letter of June 25, 1863, to Salmon P. Chase.

Executive Mansion, June 29, 1863.

Hon. William Kellogg.

My dear Sir: I have received and read your pencil note. I think you do not know how embarrassing your request is.[2] Few things are so

[1] The committee did not accept this proposition, as, indeed, the President did not expect that they would. Governor Brough was elected over Vallandigham by an overwhelming majority.

[2] In reference to trading with the South through the army lines.

troublesome to the Government as the fierceness with which the profits in trading are sought. The temptation is so great that nearly everybody wishes to be in it; and, when in, the question of profit controls all, regardless of whether the cotton-seller is loyal or rebel, or whether he is paid in corn-meal or gunpowder. The officers of the army, in numerous instances, are believed to connive and share the profits, and thus the army itself is diverted from fighting the rebels to speculating in cotton, and steamboats and wagons in the pay of the Government are set to gathering and carrying cotton, and the soldiers to loading cotton-trains and guarding them.

The matter deeply affects the Treasury and War Departments, and has been discussed again and again in the Cabinet. What can and what cannot be done has for the time been settled, and it seems to me I cannot safely break over it. I know it is thought that one case is not much, but how can I favor one and deny another? One case cannot be kept a secret. The authority given would be utterly ineffectual until it is shown, and when shown, everybody knows of it.

The Administration would do for you as much as for any other man; and I personally would do some more than for most others; but really I cannot involve myself and the Government as this would do. Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

ROBERT H. MILROY.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, June 29, 1863.

Major-General Milroy.

My dear Sir: Your letters to Mr. Blair and to myself are handed to me by him. I have never doubted your courage and devotion to the cause. But you have just lost a division, and, *prima facie*, the fault is upon you; and while that remains unchanged, for me to put you in command again is to justly subject me to the charge of having put you there on purpose to have you lose another. If I knew facts sufficient to satisfy me that you were not in fault or error, the case would be different; but the facts I do know, while they are not at all conclusive (and I hope they may never prove so), tend the other way.

First, I have scarcely seen anything from you at any time that did not contain imputations against your superiors, and a chafing against acting the part they had assigned you. You have constantly urged the idea that you were persecuted because you did not come from West Point, and you repeat it in these letters. This, my dear general, is, I fear, the rock on which you have split.

In the Winchester case you were under General Schenck, and he under General Halleck. I know by General Halleck's order-book that he, on the 11th of June, advised General Schenck to call you in from Winchester to Harper's Ferry; and I have been told, but do not know, that General Schenck gave you the order accordingly on the same day; and I have been told, but do not know, that on receiving it, instead of obeying it,

you sent by mail a written protest against obeying it, which did not reach him until you were actually beleaguered at Winchester.

I say I do not know this. You hate West Point generally and General Halleck particularly; but I do know that it is not his fault that you were at Winchester on the 13th, 14th, and morning of the 15th—the days of your disaster. If General Schenck gave the order on the 11th, as General Halleck advised, it was an easy matter for you to have been off at least on the 12th. The case is inevitably between General Schenck and you.

Neither General Halleck nor any one else, as far as I know, required you to stay and fight 60,000 with 6,000, as you insinuate.

I know General Halleck, through General Schenck, required you to get away, and that in abundant time for you to have done it.

General Schenck is not a West-Pointer, and has no prejudice against you on that score.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

See letter of December 19, 1863, to Ulysses S. Grant.

On October 27, 1863, the President gave an opinion on General Milroy's disaster, for which he had been tried. In this Lincoln said that Milroy's immediate superior, General Schenck, believed the service of the force at Winchester was worth the hazard, and so did not positively order its withdrawal until it was too late. He concluded:

Serious blame is not necessarily due to any serious disaster, and I cannot say that in this case any of the officers are deserving of serious blame. No court-martial is deemed necessary or proper in the case.

Joel Parker.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, June 30, 1863.

Governor Parker, Trenton, N. J.

Your despatch of yesterday received. I really think the attitude of the enemy's army in Pennsylvania presents us the best opportunity we have had since the war began. I think you will not see the foe in New Jersey. I beg you to be assured that no one out of my position can know so well as if he were in it, the difficulties and involvements of replacing General McClellan in command, and this aside from any imputations upon him. Please accept my sincere thanks for what you have done and are doing to get troops forward. A. Lincoln.

Alexander Kelly McClure.[1]

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, June 30, 1863.

A. K. McClure, Philadelphia.

Do we gain anything by opening one leak to stop another? Do we gain anything by quieting one clamor merely to open another, and probably a larger one? A. Lincoln.

S. P. Lee.

When the Confederate Government realized that Vicksburg was doomed, Vice-President Stephens went on a steamer to Fort Monroe bearing proposals of peace from Jefferson Davis, "Commander-in-chief of the land and naval forces of the Confederate States,"

[1] Sent in reply to a letter urging the reinstatement of McClellan after Hooker's resignation.

to Abraham Lincoln, "Commander-in-chief of the land and naval forces of the United States." On July 4, after the victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, the President instructed Admiral Lee at Fort Monroe to refuse the request of Mr. Stephens to proceed to Washington with the letter, saying:

[*Telegram.*]

The customary agents and channels are adequate for all needful communication and conference between the United States forces and the insurgents. A. Lincoln.

George G. Meade.

On June 23, 1863, General Meade was placed in command of the Army of the Potomac.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., July 7, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Army of the Potomac.

I have received from the President the following note, which I respectfully communicate:

Major-General Halleck.

We have certain information that Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant on the Fourth of July. Now, if General Meade can complete his work so gloriously prosecuted thus far, by the literal or substantial destruction of Lee's army, the rebellion will be over.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

H. W. Halleck, General-in-chief.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., July 8, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Frederick, Maryland.

There is reliable information that the enemy is crossing at Williamsport. The opportunity to

attack his divided forces should not be lost. The President is urgent and anxious that your army should move against him by forced marches.

H. W. Halleck, General-in-chief.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, July 27, 1863.

Major-General Meade.

I have not thrown General Hooker away; and therefore I would like to know whether it would be agreeable to you, all things considered, for him to take a corps under you, if he himself is willing to do so. Write me in perfect freedom, with the assurance that I will not subject you to any embarrassment by making your letter or its contents known to any one. I wish to know your wishes before I decide whether to break the subject to him. Do not lean a hair's breath against your own feelings, or your judgment of the public service, on the idea of gratifying me.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, August 11, 1863.

My dear General Meade.

Yesterday week I made known to General Hooker our brief correspondence in regard to him. He seemed gratified with the kind spirit manifested by both of us; but said he was busy preparing a report and would consider.

Yesterday he called again, and said he would accept the offer if it was still open; would go at once if you desire, but would prefer waiting till the 1st of September, unless there was to be a battle, or you desire him to come sooner. I told him I would write you. Please answer.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

War Department, October 8, 1863.
Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac.

I am appealed to in behalf of August Blittersdorf, at Mitchell's Station, Va., to be shot tomorrow as a deserter. I am unwilling for any boy under eighteen to be shot, and his father affirms that he is yet under sixteen. Please answer. His regiment or company not given me.

A. Lincoln.

In March, 1864, charges were made against General Meade by the *New York Herald* which caused him to ask for a court of inquiry. To this request the President replied on March 29, 1864:

It is quite natural that you should feel some sensibility on the subject; yet I am not impressed, nor do I think the country is impressed, with the belief that your honor demands, or the public interest demands, such an inquiry. The country knows that at all events you have done good service; and I believe it agrees with me that it is much better for you to be engaged in trying to do more, than to be diverted, as you necessarily would be, by a court of inquiry.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Lorenzo Thomas.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, July 8, 1863. 12.30 p. m.
General Lorenzo Thomas, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Your despatch of this morning to the Secretary of War is before me. The forces you speak of will be of no imaginable service if they cannot go forward with a little more expedition. Lee is

now passing the Potomac faster than the forces you mention are passing Carlisle. Forces now beyond Carlisle to be joined by regiments still at Harrisburg, and the united force again to join Pierce somewhere, and the whole to move down the Cumberland Valley, will, in my unprofessional opinion, be quite as likely to capture the "man in the moon" as any part of Lee's army.

A. Lincoln.

War Department, February 28, 1864.

General L. Thomas, Louisville, Kentucky.

I see your despatch of yesterday to the Secretary of War.

I wish you would go to the Mississippi River at once, and take hold of and be master in the contraband and leasing business. You understand it better than any other man does. Mr. Miller's system doubtless is well intended, but from what I hear I fear that, if persisted in, it would fall dead within its own entangling details. Go there and be the judge. A Mr. Lewis will probably follow you with something from me on this subject, but do not wait for him. Nor is this to induce you to violate or neglect any military order from the general-in-chief or Secretary of War.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 1, 1864.

General L. Thomas.

This introduces Mr. Lewis, mentioned in my despatch sent you at Louisville some days ago. I have but little personal acquaintance with him; but he has the confidence of several members of Congress here who seem to know him well. He hopes to be useful, without charge to the

Government, in facilitating the introduction of the free-labor system on the Mississippi plantations. He is acquainted with, and has access to, many of the planters who wish to adopt the system. He will show you two letters of mine on this subject, one somewhat general, and the other relating to named persons. They are not different in principle. He will also show you some suggestions coming from some of the planters themselves. I desire that all I promise in these letters, so far as practicable, may be in good faith carried out, and that suggestions from the planters may be heard and adopted, so far as they may not contravene the principles stated, nor justice, nor fairness, to laborers. I do not herein intend to overrule your own mature judgment on any point. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, June 13, 1864.

Major-General Thomas, Louisville, Kentucky.

Complaint is made to me that in the vicinity of Henderson, our militia are seizing negroes and carrying them off without their own consent, and according to no rules whatever, except those of absolute violence. I wish you would look into this and inform me, and see that the making soldiers of negroes is done according to the rules you are acting upon, so that unnecessary provocation and irritation be avoided. A. Lincoln.

Thomas Carney.

Governor Carney and General James G. Blunt had a controversy over military authority in Kansas, in which the President supported the Governor. On July 21, 1863, he wrote him a letter which ended as follows:

It is my purpose to take care that he [*Blunt*] shall not any more take persons charged with civil crimes out of the custody of the courts, and turn them over to mobs to be hanged.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

[*Indorsement of Letter Dated May 13, 1864.*]

The within letter is, to my mind, so obviously intended as a page for a political record, as to be difficult to answer in a straightforward, businesslike way. The merits of the Kansas people need not to be argued to me. They are just as good as any other loyal and patriotic people, and as such, to the best of my ability I have always treated them, and intend to treat them. It is not my recollection that I said to you Senator Lane would probably oppose raising troops in Kansas because it would confer patronage upon you. What I did say was, that he would probably oppose it because he and you were in a mood of each opposing whatever the other should propose. I did argue generally, too, that in my opinion there is not a more foolish or demoralizing way of conducting a political rivalry than these fierce and bitter struggles for patronage.

As to your demand that I will accept or reject your proposition to furnish troops, made to me yesterday, I have to say I took the proposition under advisement, in good faith, as I believe you know; that you can withdraw it if you wish; but while it remains before me, I shall neither accept nor reject it until, with reference to the public interest, I shall feel that I am ready.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

May 14, 1864.

Oliver O. Howard.

Executive Mansion, July 21, 1863.

My dear General Howard:

Your letter of the 18th is received. I was deeply mortified by the escape of Lee across the Potomac, because the substantial destruction of his army would have ended the war, and because I believed such destruction was perfectly easy—believed that General Meade and his noble army had expended all the skill, and toil, and blood, up to the ripe harvest, and then let the crop go to waste.

Perhaps my mortification was heightened because I had always believed—making my belief a hobby, possibly—that the main rebel army going north of the Potomac could never return, if well attended to; and because I was so greatly flattered in this belief by the operations at Gettysburg. A few days having passed, I am now profoundly grateful for what was done, without criticism for what was not done.

General Meade has my confidence, as a brave and skilful officer and a true man.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Montgomery Blair.[1]

[1] Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, Lincoln's Postmaster-General, was a son of Francis P. Blair, Sr. He was removed by President Buchanan in 1855 from his position of U. S. solicitor in the Court of Claims because of his opposition to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. In 1857 he acted as counsel for the plaintiff in the Dred Scott case. He stood almost alone in the Cabinet in opposing the surrender of Fort Sumter.

Executive Mansion, July 24, 1863.

Hon. Postmaster-General.

Sir: Yesterday little indorsements of mine went to you in two cases of postmasterships sought for widows whose husbands have fallen in the battles of this war. These cases occurring on the same day brought me to reflect more attentively than I had before done, as to what is fairly due from us here in the dispensing of patronage toward the men who, by fighting our battles, bear the chief burden of saving our country. My conclusion is that, other claims and qualifications being equal, they have the better right; and this is especially applicable to the disabled soldier and the deceased soldier's family. Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, November 2, 1863.

Hon. Montgomery Blair.

My dear Sir: Some days ago I understood you to say that your brother, General Frank Blair, desires to be guided by my wishes as to whether he will occupy his seat in Congress or remain in the field. My wish, then, is compounded of what I believe will be best for the country and best for him, and it is that he will come here, put his military commission in my hands, take his seat, go into caucus with our friends, abide the nominations, help elect the nominees, and thus aid to organize a House of Representatives which will really support the Government in the war. If the result shall be the election of himself as Speaker, let him serve in that position; if not, let him retake his commission and return to the army. For the country this will heal a dangerous schism; for him

it will relieve from a dangerous position. By a misunderstanding, as I think, he is in danger of being permanently separated from those with whom only he can ever have a real sympathy —the sincere opponents of slavery. It will be a mistake if he shall allow the provocations offered him by insincere time-servers to drive him out of the house of his own building. He is young yet. He has abundant talent—quite enough to occupy all his time without devoting any to temper. He is rising in military skill and usefulness. His recent appointment to the command of a corps by one so competent to judge as General Sherman proves this. In that line he can serve both the country and himself more profitably than he could as a member of Congress on the floor. The foregoing is what I would say if Frank Blair were my brother instead of yours. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

General Frank Blair followed this advice to the letter. Failing to be elected Speaker, he reëntered the army, and won fame for himself under Sherman. After the war he joined the Democratic party, becoming its candidate for Vice-President in 1868. This letter of Lincoln's was published some time after its date, and gave great offense to the enemies of the Blairs. Montgomery Blair was very irascible and indiscreet, and these enemies soon found sufficient reasons to urge Lincoln to remove him. This Lincoln did in the following kindly manner:

Executive Mansion, September 23, 1864.

Hon. Montgomery Blair.

My dear Sir: You have generously said to me more than once that whenever your resignation could be a relief to me it was at my disposal. The time has come. You very well know

that this proceeds from no dissatisfaction of mine with you personally or officially. Your uniform kindness has been unsurpassed by that of any friend; and while it is true that the war does not so greatly add to the difficulties of your department as to those of some others, it is yet much to say, as I most truly can, that in the three years and a half during which you have administered the general post-office, I remember no single complaint against you in connection therewith. Yours, A. Lincoln.

Francis P. Blair, Sr.

Executive Mansion, July 30, 1863.

Hon. F. P. Blair.

My dear Sir: Yours of to-day, with inclosure, is received. Yesterday I commenced trying to get up an expedition for Texas.

I shall do the best I can. Meantime I would like to know who is the great man Alexander, that talks so oracularly about "if the President keeps his word" and Banks not having "capacity to run an omnibus on Broadway"? How has this Alexander's immense light been obscured hitherto? Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Mr. Blair conceived the idea that, through his personal acquaintance with many Confederate leaders, he might be able to effect a peace. Without telling President Lincoln of his intention, he asked him for a pass.

[*Pass.*]

Allow the bearer, F. P. Blair, Sr., to pass our lines, go South, and return. A. Lincoln.

December 28, 1864.

Mr. Blair had several interviews with Jefferson Davis and members of his Cabinet, which led to an abortive peace conference on February 3, 1865.

Washington, January 18, 1865.

F. P. Blair, Esq.

Sir: You having shown me Mr. [*Jefferson*] Davis's letter to you of the 12th instant, you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue, ready to receive any agent whom he or any other influential person now resisting the national authority may informally send to me with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country.

Yours, etc., A. Lincoln.

[*Indorsement.*]

January 28, 1865.

To-day Mr. Blair tells me that on the 21st instant he delivered to Mr. Davis the original of which the within is a copy, and left it with him; that at the time of delivering it Mr. Davis read it over twice in Mr. Blair's presence, at the close of which he (Mr. Blair) remarked that the part about "our one common country" related to the part of Mr. Davis's letter about "the two countries," to which Mr. Davis replied that he so understood it. A. Lincoln.

——— Moulton.

Executive Mansion, July 31, 1863.

My dear Sir: There has been a good deal of complaint against you by your superior officers of the Provost-Marshal-General's Department, and your removal has been strongly urged on

the ground of "persistent disobedience of orders and neglect of duty." Firmly convinced, as I am, of the patriotism of your motives, I am unwilling to do anything in your case which may seem unnecessarily harsh or at variance with the feelings of personal respect and esteem with which I have always regarded you. I consider your services in your district valuable, and should be sorry to lose them. It is unnecessary for me to state, however, that when differences of opinion arise between officers of the Government, the ranking officer must be obeyed. You, of course, recognize as clearly as I do the importance of this rule. I hope you will conclude to go on in your present position under the regulations of the department. I wish you would write to me. I am very truly your friend and obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

STEPHEN A. HURLBUT.

Executive Mansion, July 31, 1863.

My dear General Hurlbut.

The emancipation proclamation applies to Arkansas.[1] I think it is valid in law, and will be so held by the courts. I think I shall not retract or repudiate it. Those who shall have tasted actual freedom I believe can never be slaves or quasi-slaves again. For the rest, I believe some plan substantially being gradual emancipation would be better for both white and black. The Missouri plan, recently adopted, I do not object to on account of the time for ending the institution;[2] but I am sorry the beginning should have

[1] General Hurlbut was in command in this State.

[2] Missouri had decided that all slaves in the State should become free in 1870.

been postponed for seven years, leaving all that time to agitate for the repeal of the whole thing. It should begin at once, giving at least the newborn a vested interest in freedom which could not be taken away. If Senator Sebastian could come with something of this sort from Arkansas, I, at least, should take great interest in his case; and I believe a single individual will have scarcely done the world so great a service. See him, if you can, and read this to him; but charge him to not make it public for the present. Write me again. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, May 2, 1864.

Major-General Hurlbut.

My dear Sir: General Farnsworth has just been reading to me from your letter to him of the 26th ultimo. I snatch a moment to say that my friendship and confidence for you remain unabated, but that Generals Grant and Thomas cannot be held to their just responsibilities if they are not allowed to control in the class of cases to which yours belongs.

From one standpoint a court of inquiry is most just, but if your case were my own I would not allow Generals Grant and Sherman [*to*] be diverted by it just now.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, November 14, 1864.

Major-General Hurlbut.

Few things since I have been here have impressed me more painfully than what, for four or five months past, has appeared a bitter mili-

tary opposition to the new State government of Louisiana. I still indulged some hope that I was mistaken in the fact; but copies of a correspondence on the subject between General Canby and yourself, and shown me to-day, dispel that hope. A very fair proportion of the people of Louisiana have inaugurated a new State government, making an excellent new constitution—better for the poor black man than we have in Illinois. This was done under military protection, directed by me, in the belief, still sincerely entertained, that with such a nucleus around which to build we could get the State into position again sooner than otherwise. In this belief a general promise of protection and support, applicable alike to Louisiana and other States, was given in the last annual message. During the formation of the new government and constitution they were supported by nearly every loyal person, and opposed by every secessionist. And this support and this opposition, from the respective standpoints of the parties, was perfectly consistent and logical. Every Unionist ought to wish the new government to succeed; and every disunionist must desire it to fail. Its failure would gladden the heart of Slidell in Europe, and of every enemy of the old flag in the world. Every advocate of slavery naturally desires to see blasted and crushed the liberty promised the black man by the new constitution. But why General Canby and General Hurlbut should join on the same side is to me incomprehensible.

Of course, in the condition of things at New Orleans, the military must not be thwarted by the civil authority; but when the Constitutional Convention, for what it deems a breach of privi-

lege, arrests an editor in no way connected with the military, the military necessity for insulting the convention and forcibly discharging the editor, is difficult to perceive. Neither is the military necessity for protecting the people against paying large salaries fixed by a legislature of their own choosing very apparent. Equally difficult to perceive is the military necessity for forcibly interposing to prevent a bank from loaning its own money to the State. These things, if they have occurred, are, at the best, no better than gratuitous hostility. I wish I could hope that they may be shown to not have occurred. To make assurance against misunderstanding, I repeat that in the existing condition of things in Louisiana, the military must not be thwarted by the civil authority; and I add that on points of difference the commanding general must be judge and master. But I also add that in the exercise of this judgment and control, a purpose, obvious and scarcely unavowed, to transcend all military necessity, in order to crush out the civil government, will not be overlooked.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

J. G. Foster.

Executive Mansion, August 8, 1863.

General Foster.

This will be handed you by Governor Pierpont of Virginia.

He goes, among other things, seeking to adjust a difficulty at Norfolk and Portsmouth. It seems there is a large number of families in Portsmouth who are destitute and whose natural supporters are in the rebel army or have been killed

in it. These destitute families must live somehow, and it seems the city authorities on one side, and our military on the other, are in ruinous conflict about the mode of providing.

Governor Pierpont is a good man, and if you will place him in conference and amicable relations with the military authority in the vicinity, I do not doubt that much good will come of it. Please do it. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

J. M. Fleming and R. Morrow.

Executive Mansion, August 9, 1863.

Messrs. Jno. M. Fleming and R. Morrow.

Gentlemen: The petition of which you were the bearers has just been handed me. Your cards and notes had come to me on two or three successive days before; and I knew then, as well as I do now after reading the petition, what your mission was. I knew it was the same true and painful story which Governor Johnson, Mr. Maynard, Dr. Clements, and others have been telling me for more than two years. I also knew that meeting you could do no good, because I have all the while done, and shall continue to do, the best for you I could and can. I do as much for East Tennessee as I would or could if my own home and family were in Knoxville. The difficulties of getting a Union army into that region, and of keeping it there, are so apparent—so obvious—that none can fail to see them, unless it may be those who are driven mad and blind by their sufferings. Start by whatever route they may, their lines of supply are broken before they get half way. A small force sufficient to beat the enemy now there would be

of no value, because the enemy would reinforce to meet them, until we should have to give back or accumulate so large a force as to be very difficult to supply, and as to ruin us entirely if a great disaster should befall it. I know you are too much distressed to be argued with, and therefore I do not attempt it at length. You know I am not indifferent to your troubles, else I should not, more than a year and a half ago, have made the effort I did to have a railroad built on purpose to relieve you. The Secretary of War, General Halleck, General Burnside, and General Rosecrans are all engaged now in an effort to relieve your section. But, remember, you will probably thwart them if you make this public.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

James H. Hackett.

Executive Mansion, August 17, 1863.

James H. Hackett, Esq.

My dear Sir: Months ago I should have acknowledged the receipt of your book and accompanying kind note; and I now have to beg your pardon for not having done so.

For one of my age I have seen very little of the drama. The first presentation of *Falstaff* I ever saw was yours here, last winter or spring. Perhaps the best compliment I can pay is to say, as I truly can, I am very anxious to see it again. Some of Shakespeare's plays I have never read; while others I have gone over perhaps as frequently as any unprofessional reader. Among the latter are "Lear," "Richard III.," "Henry VIII.," "Hamlet," and especially "Macbeth." I think nothing equals "Macbeth." It is wonderful.

Unlike you gentlemen of the profession I think the soliloquy in "Hamlet" commencing "Oh, my offense is rank," surpasses that commencing "To be or not to be." But pardon this small attempt at criticism. I should like to hear you pronounce the opening speech of Richard III. Will you not soon visit Washington again? If you do, please call and let me make your personal acquaintance.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, November 2, 1863.

James H. Hackett. . . .

My note to you I certainly did not expect to see in print; yet I have not been much shocked by the newspaper comments upon it. Those comments constitute a fair specimen of what has occurred to me through life. I have endured a great deal of ridicule without much malice; and have received a great deal of kindness, not quite free from ridicule. I am used to it.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

J. G. Blunt.

Executive Mansion, August 18, 1863.

Major-General Blunt. . . .

I regret to find you denouncing so many persons as liars, scoundrels, fools, thieves, and persecutors of yourself. Your military position looks critical, but did anybody force you into it? Have you been ordered to confront and fight 10,000 men with 3,000 men? The Government cannot make men; and it is very easy, when a man has been given the highest commission, for him to turn on those who gave it and vilify them for not giving him a command according to his rank.

My appointment of you first as a brigadier, and then as a major-general, was evidence of my appreciation of your services; and I have since marked but one thing in connection with you with which to be dissatisfied. The sending a military order twenty-five miles outside of your lines, and all military lines, to take men charged with no offense against the military, out of the hands of the courts, to be turned over to a mob to be hanged, can find no precedent or principle to justify it. Judge Lynch sometimes takes jurisdiction of cases which prove too strong for the courts: but this is the first case within my knowledge wherein the court being able to maintain jurisdiction against Judge Lynch, the military has come to the assistance of the latter. I take the facts of this case as you state them yourself, and not from any report of Governor Carney,[1] or other person. Yours truly. A. Lincoln.

John P. Usher.

Executive Mansion, August 24, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of the Interior.

Sir: By the within you see the claim of Illinois for the two per cent. on sales of public lands is again presented.

My view of the case is not changed. I believe the law is with the State; and yet I think it is ungracious to be pressing the claim at this time of national trouble.

Nevertheless, I have to ask that you will determine what is your duty according to the law, and then do it. Yours truly. A. Lincoln.

[1] See letter to Governor Carney.

James C. Conkling.

[*Private.*]

War Department,
August 26, 1863.

My dear Conkling: I cannot leave here now. Herewith is a letter instead. You are one of the best public readers. I have but one suggestion—read it very slowly. And now God bless you, and all good Union men.

Yours as ever, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, August 26, 1863.

Hon. James C. Conkling.

My dear Sir: Your letter inviting me to attend a mass-meeting of unconditional Union men, to be held at the capital of Illinois on the 3d day of September, has been received. It would be very agreeable to me to thus meet my old friends at my own home, but I cannot just now be absent from here so long as a visit there would require.

The meeting is to be of all those who maintain unconditional devotion to the Union; and I am sure my old political friends will thank me for tendering, as I do, the nation's gratitude to those other noble men whom no partisan malice or partisan hope can make false to the nation's life.

There are those who are dissatisfied with me. To such I would say: You desire peace, and you blame me that we do not have it. But how can we attain it? There are but three conceivable ways: First, to suppress the rebellion by force of arms. This I am trying to do. Are you for it? If you are, so far we are agreed. If you are not for it, a second way is to give

up the Union. I am against this. Are you for it? If you are, you should say so plainly. If you are not for force, nor yet for dissolution, there only remains some imaginable compromise. I do not believe any compromise embracing the maintenance of the Union is now possible. All I learn leads to a directly opposite belief. The strength of the rebellion is its military, its army. That army dominates all the country and all the people within its range. Any offer of terms made by any man or men within that range, in opposition to that army, is simply nothing for the present, because such man or men have no power whatever to enforce their side of a compromise, if one were made with them.

To illustrate: Suppose refugees from the South and peace men of the North get together in convention and frame and proclaim a compromise embracing a restoration of the Union. In what way can that compromise be used to keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania? Meade's army can keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania, and, I think, can ultimately drive it out of existence. But no paper compromise to which the controllers of Lee's army are not agreed can at all affect that army. In an effort at such compromise we should waste time which the enemy would improve to our disadvantage; and that would be all. A compromise, to be effective, must be made either with those who control the rebel army, or with the people first liberated from the domination of that army by the success of our own army. Now, allow me to assure you that no word or intimation from that rebel army, or from any of the men controlling it, in relation to any peace compromise, has ever come to my

knowledge or belief. All charges and insinuations to the contrary are deceptive and groundless. And I promise you that if any such proposition shall hereafter come, it shall not be rejected and kept a secret from you. I freely acknowledge myself the servant of the people, according to the bond of service—the United States Constitution—and that, as such, I am responsible to them.

But to be plain. You are dissatisfied with me about the negro. Quite likely there is a difference of opinion between you and myself upon that subject. I certainly wish that all men could be free, while I suppose you do not. Yet, I have neither adopted nor proposed any measure which is not consistent with even your view, provided you are for the Union. I suggested compensated emancipation, to which you replied you wished not to be taxed to buy negroes. But I had not asked you to be taxed to buy negroes, except in such way as to save you from greater taxation to save the Union exclusively by other means.

You dislike the Emancipation Proclamation, and perhaps would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional. I think differently. I think the Constitution invests its commander-in-chief with the law of war in time of war. The most that can be said—if so much—is that slaves are property. Is there—has there ever been—any question that by the law of war, property, both of enemies and friends, may be taken when needed? And is it not needed whenever taking it helps us, or hurts the enemy? Armies, the world over, destroy enemies' property when they cannot use it; and even destroy their own to

keep it from the enemy. Civilized belligerents do all in their power to help themselves or hurt the enemy, except a few things regarded as barbarous or cruel. Among the exceptions are the massacre of vanquished foes and non-combatants, male and female.

But the proclamation, as law, either is valid or is not valid. If it is not valid, it needs no retraction. If it is valid, it cannot be retracted any more than the dead can be brought to life. Some of you profess to think its retraction would operate favorably for the Union. Why better after the retraction than before the issue? There was more than a year and a half of trial to suppress the rebellion before the proclamation issued; the last one hundred days of which passed under an explicit notice that it was coming, unless averted by those in revolt returning to their allegiance. The war has certainly progressed as favorably for us since the issue of the proclamation as before. I know, as fully as one can know the opinions of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field, who have given us our most important successes, believe the emancipation policy and the use of the colored troops constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion, and that at least one of these important successes could not have been achieved when it was but for the aid of black soldiers. Among the commanders holding these views are some who have never had any affinity with what is called Abolitionism, or with Republican party politics, but who hold them purely as military opinions. I submit these opinions as being entitled to some weight against the objections often urged that emancipation

and arming the blacks are unwise as military measures, and were not adopted as such in good faith.

You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you; but no matter. Fight you, then, exclusively to save the Union. I issued the proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then for you to declare you will not fight to free negroes.

I thought that in your struggle for the Union, to whatever extent the negroes should cease helping the enemy, to that extent it weakened the enemy in its resistance to you. Do you think differently? I thought that whatever negroes can be got to do as soldiers, leaves just so much less for white soldiers to do in saving the Union. Does it appear otherwise to you? But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us they must be prompted by the strongest motive, even the promise of freedom. And the promise, being made, must be kept.

The signs look better. The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea. Thanks to the great Northwest for it. Nor yet wholly to them. Three hundred miles up they met New England, Empire, Keystone, and Jersey, hewing their way right and left. The sunny South, too, in more colors than one, also lent a hand. On the spot, their part of the history was jotted down in black and white. The job was a great national one, and let none be banned who bore an hon-

orable part in it. And while those who have cleared the great river may well be proud, even that is not all. It is hard to say that anything has been more bravely and well done than at Antietam, Murfreesborough, Gettysburg, and on many fields of lesser note. Nor must Uncle Sam's web-feet be forgotten. At all the watery margins they have been present. Not only on the deep sea, the broad bay, and the rapid river, but also up the narrow, muddy bayou, and wherever the ground was a little damp, they have been and made their tracks. Thanks to all: for the great Republic—for the principle it lives by and keeps alive—for man's vast future—thanks to all.

Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay, and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved that among free men there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost. And then there will be some black men who can remember that with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation, while I fear there will be some white ones unable to forget that with malignant heart and deceitful speech they strove to hinder it.

Still, let us not be over-sanguine of a speedy final triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in his own good time, will give us the rightful result.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, September 3, 1863.

Hon. James C. Conkling, Springfield, Ill.

I am mortified this morning to find a letter to you botched up in the Eastern papers, telegraphed from Chicago. How did this happen?

A. Lincoln.

S. W. Crawford.

Washington, D. C., August 28, 1863.

General Crawford, Rappahannock Station, Va.

I regret that I cannot be present to witness the presentation of a sword by the gallant Pennsylvania Reserve Corps to one so worthy to receive it as General Meade. A. Lincoln.

Mrs. Joshua F. Speed.

Washington, D. C., September 16, 1863.

Mrs. J. F. Speed, Louisville, Ky.

Mr. Holman will not be jostled from his place with my knowledge and consent.

A. Lincoln.

Mrs. Hannah Armstrong.[1]

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, September 19, 1863.

Mrs. Hannah Armstrong, Petersburg, Ill.

I have just ordered the discharge of your boy William, as you say, now at Louisville, Ky.

A. Lincoln.

[1] Mrs. Armstrong and her husband Jack were old friends of Lincoln at New Salem, Ill. She had patched Lincoln's trousers, and with her husband had comforted him in his grief over the death of his first love. Their son William had been condemned as a deserter.

Charles D. Drake and Others.

On October 5, 1863, the President answered complaints of Charles D. Drake and others, of St. Louis, made against General Schofield's military administration in Missouri, as follows:

Executive Mansion, October 5, 1863.

Hon. Charles D. Drake and Others, Committee.

Among the reasons given [for removal of General Schofield] enough of suffering and wrong to Union men is certainly, and I suppose truly, stated. Yet the whole case, as presented, fails to convince me that General Schofield or the enrolled militia is responsible for that suffering and wrong. The whole can be explained on a more charitable and, as I think, a more rational hypothesis. We are in civil war. In such cases there always is a main question; but in this case that question is a perplexing compound—Union and slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely, but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus, those who are for the Union with, but not without, slavery—those for it without, but not with—those for it with or without, but prefer it with—and those for it with or without, but prefer it without.

Among these again is a subdivision of those who are for gradual, but not for immediate, and those who are for immediate, but not for gradual, extinction of slavery. It is easy to conceive that all these shades of opinion, and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet, all being for the Union, by

reason of these differences each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union. At once sincerity is questioned, and motives are assailed. Actual war coming, blood grows hot, and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies and universal suspicion reigns. Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor, lest he be first killed by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. And all this, as before said, may be among honest men only; but this is not all. Every foul bird comes abroad and every dirty reptile rises up. These add crime to confusion. Strong measures deemed indispensable, but harsh at best, such men make worse by maladministration. Murders for old grudges, and murders for pelf, proceed under any cloak that will best cover for the occasion. These causes amply account for what has occurred in Missouri, without ascribing it to the weakness or wickedness of any general. The newspaper files, those chroniclers of current events, will show that the evils now complained of were quite as prevalent under Frémont, Hunter, Halleck, and Curtis, as under Schofield. If the former had greater force opposed to them, they also had greater force with which to meet it. When the organized rebel army left the State, the main Federal force had to go also, leaving the department commander at home relatively no stronger than before. Without disparaging any, I affirm with confidence that no commander of that department has, in proportion to his means, done better than General Schofield. . . .

To restrain contraband intelligence and trade, a system of searches, seizures, permits, and passes

had been introduced, I think, by General Frémont. When General Halleck came, he found and continued this system, and added an order, applicable to some parts of the State, to levy and collect contributions from noted rebels, to compensate losses and relieve destitution caused by the rebellion. The action of General Frémont and General Halleck, as stated, constituted a sort of system, which General Curtis found in full operation when he took command of the department. That there was a necessity for something of the sort was clear, but that it could only be justified by stern necessity, and that it was liable to great abuse in administration, was equally clear. Agents to execute it, contrary to the great prayer, were led into temptation. Some might, while others would not, resist that temptation. It was not possible to hold any to a very strict accountability, and those yielding to the temptation would sell permits and passes to those who would pay most and most readily for them; and would seize property and collect levies in the aptest way to fill their own pockets. Money being the object, the man having money, whether loyal or disloyal, would be the victim. This practice doubtless existed to some extent, and it was a real additional evil that it could be and was plausibly charged to exist in greater extent than it did.

When General Curtis took command of the department, Mr. Dick, against whom I never knew anything to allege, had general charge of this system. A controversy in regard to it rapidly grew into almost unmanageable proportions. One side ignored the necessity and magnified the evils of the system, while the other ignored the

evils and magnified the necessity, and each bitterly assailed the motives of the other. I could not fail to see that the controversy enlarged in the same proportion as the professed Union men here distinctly took sides in two opposing political parties. I exhausted my wits, and very nearly my patience also, in efforts to convince both that the evils they charged on each other were inherent in the case, and could not be cured by giving either party a victory over the other. . . .

Imbecility is urged as one cause for removing General Schofield, and the late massacre at Lawrence, Kansas, is pressed as evidence of that imbecility. To my mind that fact scarcely tends to prove the proposition. That massacre is only an example of what Grierson, John [*H.*] Morgan, and many others might have repeatedly done on their respective raids had they chosen to incur the personal hazard and possessed the fiendish hearts to do it.

The charge is made that General Schofield, on purpose to protect the Lawrence murderers, would not allow them to be pursued into Missouri. While no punishment could be too sudden or too severe for those murderers, I am well satisfied that the preventing of the threatened remedial raid into Missouri was the only safe way to avoid an indiscriminate massacre there, including probably more innocent than guilty. Instead of condemning I therefore approve what I understand General Schofield did in that respect.

The charges that General Schofield has purposely withheld protection from loyal people and purposely facilitated the objects of the disloyal

are altogether beyond my power of belief. I do not arraign the veracity of gentlemen as to the facts complained of, but I do more than question the judgment which would infer that those facts occurred in accordance with the purposes of General Schofield.

With my present views, I must decline to remove General Schofield. In this I decide nothing against General Butler.[1] I sincerely wish it were convenient to assign him a suitable command. In order to meet some existing evils I have addressed a letter of instructions to General Schofield, a copy of which I inclose to you.

As to the enrolled militia, I shall endeavor to ascertain better than I now know what is its exact value. Let me say now, however, that your proposal to substitute national forces for the enrolled militia implies that in your judgment the latter is doing something which needs to be done; and if so, the proposition to throw that force away and to supply its place by bringing other forces from the field where they are urgently needed seems to me very extraordinary. Whence shall they come? Shall they be withdrawn from Banks, or Grant, or Steele, or Rosecrans? Few things have been so grateful to my anxious feelings as when, in June last, the local force in Missouri aided General Schofield to so promptly send a large general force to the relief of General Grant, then investing Vicksburg, and menaced from without by General Johnston. Was this all wrong? Should the enrolled militia then have been broken up and General Herron kept from Grant to police Missouri? So far

[1] Benjamin F. Butler, with whom Mr. Drake *et al.* proposed to replace Schofield.

from finding cause to object, I confess to a sympathy for whatever relieves our general force in Missouri and allows it to serve elsewhere. I therefore, as at present advised, cannot attempt the destruction of the enrolled militia of Missouri. I may add that the force being under the national military control, it is also within the proclamation in regard to the *habeas corpus.*

I concur in the propriety of your request in regard to elections, and have, as you see, directed General Schofield accordingly. I do not feel justified to enter upon the broad field you present in regard to the political differences between Radicals and Conservatives. From time to time I have done and said what appeared to me proper to do and say. The public knows it all. It obliges nobody to follow me, and I trust it obliges me to follow nobody. The Radicals and Conservatives each agree with me in some things and disagree in others. I could wish both to agree with me in all things, for then they would agree with each other and would be too strong for any foe from any quarter. They, however, choose to do otherwise; and I do not question their right. I too shall do what seems to be my duty. I hold whoever commands in Missouri or elsewhere responsible to me and not to either Radicals or Conservatives. It is my duty to hear all, but at last I must, within my sphere, judge what to do and what to forbear.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

John Williams and N. G. Taylor.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, October 17, 1863.

John Williams and N. G. Taylor, Knoxville, Tennessee.

You do not estimate the holding of East Tennessee more highly than I do. There is no absolute purpose of withdrawing our forces from it, and only a contingent one to withdraw them temporarily for the purpose of not losing the position permanently. I am in great hope of not finding it necessary to withdraw them at all, particularly if you raise new troops rapidly for us there.

A. Lincoln.

William B. Thomas.

Executive Mansion, October 17, 1863.

Hon. William B. Thomas, Philadelphia, Pa.

I am grateful for your offer of 100,000 men, but as at present advised I do not consider that Washington is in danger, or that there is any emergency requiring 60 or 90 days men.

A. Lincoln.

Sanitary Fair at Chicago.

Executive Mansion, October 26, 1863.

Ladies having in Charge the Northwestern Fair for the Sanitary Commission, Chicago, Illinois.

According to the request made in your behalf, the original draft of the Emancipation Proclamation is herewith inclosed. The formal words at the top and the conclusion, except the signature, you perceive, are not in my handwriting.

They were written at the State Department, by whom I know not. The printed part was cut from a copy of the preliminary proclamation, and pasted on, merely to save writing. I had some desire to retain the paper; but if it shall contribute to the relief or comfort of the soldiers, that will be better.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

George H. Boker.

Executive Mansion, October 26, 1863.

George H. Boker, Esq., Secretary.

My dear Sir: It is with heartfelt gratification that I acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 6th, and the accompanying medal, by which I am made an honorary member of the Union League of Philadelphia.

I shall always bear with me the consciousness of having endeavored to do my duty in the trying times through which we are passing, and the generous approval of a portion of my fellow-citizens so intelligent and so patriotic as those composing your association assures me that I have not wholly failed.

I could not ask, and no one could merit, a better reward.

Be kind enough, sir, to convey to the gentlemen whom you represent, the assurance of the grateful appreciation with which I accept the honor you have conferred upon me.

I am very truly your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

ELIHU B. WASHBURNE.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Executive Mansion, October 26, 1863.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 12th has been in my hands several days. Inclosed I send the leave of absence for your brother, in as good form as I think I can safely put it. Without knowing whether he would accept it, I have tendered the collectorship at Portland, Maine, to your other brother, the Governor.

Thanks to both you and our friend Campbell for your kind words and intentions. A second term would be a great honor and a great labor, which, together, perhaps I would not decline if tendered. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, December 18, 1863.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: The joint resolution of thanks to General Grant and those under his command has been before me, and is approved. If agreeable to you, I shall be glad for you to superintend the getting up of the medal, and the making of the copy to be engrossed on parchment, which I am to transmit to the General.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

THOMAS SWANN.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, October 27, 1863.

Hon. Thomas Swann.

Dear Sir: Your letter, a copy of which is on the other half of this sheet, is received. I trust

there is no just ground for the suspicion you mention; and I am somewhat mortified that there could be any doubt of my views upon the point of your inquiry. I wish all loyal qualified voters in Maryland and elsewhere to have the undisturbed privilege of voting at elections; and neither my authority nor my name can be properly used to the contrary.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Publish both letters, if either. A. L.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., July 10, 1864. 9.20 a. m.

Thomas Swann and Others, Baltimore, Maryland.

Yours of last night received. I have not a single soldier but whom is being disposed by the military for the best protection of all. By latest accounts the enemy is moving on Washington.[1] They cannot fly to either place. Let us be vigilant, but keep cool. I hope neither Baltimore nor Washington will be sacked. A. Lincoln.

A. W. Bradford.

Executive Mansion, November 2, 1863.

His Excellency A. W. Bradford, Governor of Maryland.

Sir: Yours of the 31st ult. was received yesterday about noon, and since then I have been giving most earnest attention to the subject-matter of it. At my call General Schenck has attended, and he assures me it is almost certain that

[1] General Jubal A. Early had beaten Lew Wallace at the Monocacy River, Md., on July 9, and was on his way to the capital.

violence will be used at some of the voting places on election day unless prevented by his provost-guards. He says that at some of those places Union voters will not attend at all, or run a ticket, unless they have some assurance of protection. This makes the Missouri case, of my action in regard to which you express your approval.

The remaining point of your letter is a protest against any person offering to vote being put to any test not found in the laws of Maryland. This brings us to a difference between Missouri and Maryland. With the same reason in both States, Missouri has, by law, provided a test for the voter with reference to the present rebellion, while Maryland has not. For example, General Trimble, captured fighting us at Gettysburg, is, without recanting his treason, a legal voter by the laws of Maryland. Even General Schenck's order admits him to vote, if he recants upon oath. I think that is cheap enough. My order in Missouri, which you approve, and General Schenck's order here, reach precisely the same end. Each assures the right of voting to all loyal men, and whether a man is loyal, each allows that man to fix by his own oath. Your suggestion that nearly all the candidates are loyal, I do not think quite meets the case. In this struggle for the nation's life, I cannot so confidently rely on those whose elections may have depended upon disloyal votes. Such men, when elected, may prove true; but such votes are given them in the expectation that they will prove false.

Nor do I think that to keep the peace at the polls, and to prevent the persistently disloyal from voting, constitutes just cause of offense to

Maryland. I think she has her own example for it. If I mistake not, it is precisely what General Dix did when your Excellency was elected governor.

I revoke the first of the three propositions in General Schenck's General Order No. 53; not that it is wrong in principle, but because the military, being of necessity exclusive judges as to who shall be arrested, the provision is too liable to abuse. For the revoked part I substitute the following:

> That all provost-marshals and other military officers do prevent all disturbance and violence at or about the polls, whether offered by such persons as above described, or by any other person or persons whomsoever.

The other two propositions of the order I allow to stand. General Schenck is fully determined, and has my strict orders besides, that all loyal men may vote, and vote for whom they please.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

John Jacob Astor, Jr., and Others.

[*Private, except to General Dix.*]

Executive Mansion, November 9, 1863.

Messrs. J. J. Astor, Jr., R. B. Roosevelt, and Nathaniel Sands.

Gentlemen: Upon the subject of your letter, I have to say that it is beyond my province to interfere with New York city politics; that I am very grateful to General Dix for the zealous and able military and quasi-civil support he has given the Government during the war, and that if the people of New York should tender him the mayoralty, and he accept it, nothing on that sub-

ject could be more satisfactory to me. In this I must not be understood as saying aught against any one, or as attempting the least degree of dictation in the matter.

To state it in another way, if General Dix's present relation to the General Government lays any restraint upon him in this matter, I wish to remove that restraint.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

B. F. Flanders.

See letters to Salmon P. Chase of May 13, 1863, to Nathaniel P. Banks of August 5, 1863, and November 5, 1863.

Executive Mansion, November 9, 1863.

Hon. B. F. Flanders.

My dear Sir: In a conversation with General Butler, he made a suggestion which impressed me a good deal at the time. It was that, as a preliminary step, a vote be taken, yea or nay, whether there shall be a State convention [1] to repeal the ordinance of secession and remodel the State constitution. I send it merely as a suggestion for your consideration, not having considered it maturely myself.

The point which impressed me was, not so much the questions to be voted on, as the effect of crystallizing, so to speak, in taking such popular vote on any proper question.

In fact, I have always thought the act of secession is legally nothing, and needs no repealing. Turn the thought over in your mind, and see if in your own judgment you can make anything of it. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

[1] In Louisiana.

E. H. and E. Jameson.

War Department, November 13, 1863.

E. H. and E. Jameson, Jefferson City, Mo.

Yours saying Brown and Henderson are elected senators is received. I understand this is one and one. If so it is knocking heads together to some purpose. A. Lincoln.

Zachariah Chandler.

Executive Mansion, November 20, 1863.

Hon. Zachariah Chandler.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the 15th, marked "private," was received to-day. I have seen Governor Morgan and Thurlow Weed, separately, but not together, within the last ten days; but neither of them mentioned the forthcoming message, or said anything, so far as I can remember, which brought the thought of the message to my mind. I am very glad the elections this autumn have gone favorably, and that I have not, by native depravity or under evil influences, done anything bad enough to prevent the good result. I hope to "stand firm" enough to not go backward, and yet not go forward fast enough to wreck the country's cause.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

E. P. Evans.

Executive Mansion, November 23, 1863.

E. P. Evans, West Union, Adams County, Ohio.

Yours to Governor Chase in behalf of John A. Welch is before me. Can there be a worse

case than to desert and with letters persuading others to desert? I cannot interpose without a better showing than you make. When did he desert? When did he write the letters?

A. Lincoln.

COOPER INSTITUTE COMMITTEE.

Executive Mansion, December 2, 1863.

George Opdyke and Others.

Gentlemen: Yours of the 28th ultimo, inviting me to be present at a meeting to be held at the Cooper Institute on the 3d instant, to promote the raising of volunteers, is received. Nothing would be more grateful to my feelings, or better accord with my judgment, than to contribute, if I could, by my presence or otherwise, to that eminently patriotic object. Nevertheless, the now early meeting of Congress, together with a temporary illness, render my attendance impossible.

You propose also to celebrate our Western victories. Freed from the apprehension of wounding the just sensibilities of brave soldiers fighting elsewhere, it would be exceedingly agreeable to me to join in a suitable acknowledgment to those of the great West, with whom I was born and have passed my life. And it is exceedingly gratifying that a portion, lately of the Army of the Potomac, but now serving with the great Army of the West, has borne so conspicuous a part in the late brilliant triumphs in Georgia.

Honor to the soldier and sailor everywhere who bravely bears his country's cause. Honor also to the citizen who cares for his brother in the field, and serves, as he best can, the same cause—honor to him, only less than to him who

braves, for the common good, the storms of heaven and the storms of battle.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

John Rogers.

[*Message to Congress.*]

To the Senate and House of Representatives.

In conformity to the law of July 16, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Captain John Rogers, United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks from Congress for the eminent skill and gallantry exhibited by him in the engagement with the rebel armed iron-clad steamer *Fingal,* alias *Atlanta,* whilst in command of the United States iron-clad steamer *Weehawken,* which led to her capture on the 17th of June, 1863, and also for the zeal, bravery, and general good conduct shown by this officer on many occasions.

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, December 8, 1863.

Thomas Cottman.

Executive Mansion, December 15, 1863.

Dr. Thomas Cottman.

My dear Sir: You were so kind as to say this morning that you desire to return to Louisiana, and to be guided by my wishes, to some extent, in the part you may take in bringing that State to resume her rightful relation to the General Government.

My wishes are in a general way expressed, as well as I can express them, in the proclamation issued on the 8th of the present month, and in that part of the annual message which relates

to that proclamation. It there appears that I deem the sustaining of the Emancipation Proclamation, where it applies, as indispensable; and I add here that I would esteem it fortunate if the people of Louisiana should themselves place the remainder of the State upon the same footing, and then, if in their discretion it should appear best, make some temporary provision for the whole of the freed people, substantially as suggested in the last proclamation.

I have not put forth the plan in that proclamation as a Procrustean bed, to which exact conformity is to be indispensable; and, in Louisiana particularly, I wish that labor already done, which varies from that plan in no important particular, may not be thrown away.

The strongest wish I have, not already publicly expressed, is that in Louisiana and elsewhere all sincere Union men would stoutly eschew cliquism, and, each yielding something in minor matters, all work together. Nothing is likely to be so baleful in the great work before us as stepping aside from the main object to consider who will get the offices if a small matter shall go thus, and who else will get them if it shall go otherwise. It is time now for real patriots to rise above all this. As to the particulars of what I may think best to be done in any State, I have publicly stated certain points which I have thought indispensable to the reëstablishment and maintenance of the national authority; and I go no further than this because I wish to avoid both the substance and the appearance of dictation.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

O. D. Filley.

Executive Mansion, December 22, 1863.

O. D. Filley, St. Louis, Missouri.

I have just looked over a petition signed by some three dozen citizens of St. Louis, and three accompanying letters. . . . the whole relating to the Rev. Dr. McPheeters. The petition prays, in the name of justice and mercy, that I will restore Dr. McPheeters to all his ecclesiastical rights. This gives no intimation as to what ecclesiastical rights are withheld.

Your letter states that Provost-Marshal Dick, about a year ago, ordered the arrest of Dr. McPheeters, pastor of the Vine Street Church, prohibited him from officiating, and placed the management of the affairs of the church out of the control of its chosen trustees; and near the close you state that a certain course "would insure his release." Mr. Ranney's letter says: "Dr. Samuel S. McPheeters is enjoying all the rights of a civilian, but cannot preach the Gospel!!!" Mr. Coalter, in his letter asks: "Is it not a strange illustration of the condition of things, that the question of who shall be allowed to preach in a church in St. Louis shall be decided by the President of the United States?"

Now, all this sounds very strangely; and, withal, a little as if you gentlemen making the application do not understand the case alike; one affirming that the doctor is enjoying all the rights of a civilian, and another pointing out to me what will secure his *release*! On the second day of January last, I wrote to General Curtis in relation to Mr. Dick's order upon Dr. McPheeters; and, as I suppose the doctor is

enjoying all the rights of a civilian, I only quote that part of my letter which relates to the church. It is as follows: "But I must add that the United States Government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches. When an individual, in a church or out of it, becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked; but the churches, as such, must take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches."

This letter going to General Curtis, then in command there, I supposed, of course, it was obeyed, especially as I heard no further complaint from Dr. McPheeters or his friends for nearly an entire year. I have never interfered, nor thought of interfering, as to who shall or shall not preach in any church; nor have I knowingly or believingly tolerated any one else to so interfere by my authority. If any one is so interfering by color of my authority, I would like to have it specifically made known to me.

If, after all, what is now sought is to have me put Dr. McPheeters back over the heads of a majority of his own congregation, that, too, will be declined. I will not have control of any church on any side.

Yours respectfully, A. Lincoln.

SAMUEL S. MCPHEETERS.

[*Indorsement on Petition.*]

The assumptions of this paper, so far as I know, or believe, are entirely false. I have never deprived Doctor McPheeters of any ecclesiastical right, or authorized or excused its being

done by any one deriving authority from me. On the contrary, in regard to this very case, I directed a long time ago that Doctor McPheeters was to be arrested, or remain at large, upon the same rule as any one else; and that in no event was any one to interfere, by my authority, as to who should or should not preach in any church. This was done, I think, in a letter, in the nature of an order, to Mr. Dick. The assumption that I am keeping Dr. McPheeters from preaching in his church is monstrous. If any one is doing this, by pretense of my authority, I will thank any one who can to make out and present me a specific case against him. If, after all, the doctor is kept out by the majority of his own parishioners, and my official power is sought to force him in over their heads, I decline that also.

A. Lincoln.

December 22, 1863.

THOMAS E. BRAMLETTE.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, January 6, 1864. 2 p. m.

Governor Bramlette, Frankfort, Kentucky.

Yours of yesterday received. Nothing is known here about General Foster's order, of which you complain, beyond the fair presumption that it comes from General Grant, and that it has an object which, if you understood, you would be loath to frustrate. True, these troops are, in strict law, only to be removed by my order; but General Grant's judgment would be the highest incentive to me to make such order. Nor can I understand how doing so is bad faith and dishonor, nor yet how it so exposes Kentucky

to ruin. Military men here do not perceive how it exposes Kentucky, and I am sure Grant would not permit it if it so appeared to him.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, January 17, 1864.

Governor Bramlette, Frankfort, Kentucky.

Your letter of the eighth is just received. To your question, "May I not add *q. e. d.?*" I answer "No," because you omit the "premise" in the law, that the President may in his discretion send these troops out of Kentucky; and I take it that if he shall do so, on the judgment of General Grant as to its propriety, it will be neither cruelty, bad faith, nor dishonor. When I telegraphed you I knew, though I did not say so to you, that General Grant was about that time with General Foster at Knoxville, and could not be ignorant of, or averse to, the order which alarmed you. I see he has since passed through Kentucky, and I hope you have had a conference with him.

A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., November 10, 1864.

Governor Bramlette, Frankfort, Kentucky.

Yours of yesterday received. I can scarcely believe that General John B. Houston has been arrested "for no other offense than opposition to my reëlection"; for, if that had been deemed sufficient cause of arrest, I should have heard of more than one arrest in Kentucky on election day. If, however, General Houston has been arrested for no other cause than opposition to my reëlection, General Burbridge will discharge

him at once, I sending him a copy of this as an order to that effect. A. Lincoln.

On November 22, 1864, the President sent a telegram to Governor Bramlette informing him that "the Secretary of War and myself are trying to devise means of pacification and harmony for Kentucky, which we hope to effect soon, now that the passion-exciting subject of the election is past."

On February 5, 1865, the President telegraphed in answer to a query of Governor Bramlette concerning the Thirteenth Amendment: "Precedents justify the legislature to act on *ex-officio* notice of Congress having passed the proposed amendment; nevertheless, I will send you the authenticated copy."

——— Andrews.

[*Indorsement.*]

The case of Andrews is really a very bad one, as appears by the record already before me. Yet . . . I . . . ordered his punishment commuted to imprisonment for during the war at hard labor. . . . I did this, not on any merit in the case, but because I am trying to evade the butchering business lately. A. Lincoln.

Quincy A. Gillmore.

See letter to Gideon Welles of December 20, 1863.

Executive Mansion, January 13, 1864.

Major-General Gillmore.

I understand an effort is being made by some worthy gentlemen to reconstruct a loyal State government in Florida. Florida is in your department, and it is not unlikely that you may be there in person. I have given Mr. Hay a com-

mission of major, and sent him to you, with some blank-books and other blanks, to aid in the reconstruction. He will explain as to the manner of using the blanks, and also my general views on the subject. It is desirable for all to coöperate, but if irreconcilable differences of opinion shall arise, you are master. I wish the thing done in the most speedy way possible, so that when done, it lie within the range of the late proclamation on the subject. The detail labor, of course, will have to be done by others; but I shall be greatly obliged if you will give it such general supervision as you can find consistent with your more strictly military duties.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

Executive Mansion, January 16, 1864.

Messrs. Crosby and Nichols.

Gentlemen: The number for this month and year of the *North American Review* was duly received, and for which please accept my thanks. Of course, I am not the most impartial judge; yet, with due allowance for this, I venture to hope that the article entitled "The President's Policy" will be of value to the country. I fear I am not quite worthy of all which is therein kindly said of me personally.

The sentence of twelve lines, commencing at the top of page 252, I could wish to be not exactly as it is. In what is there expressed, the writer has not correctly understood me. I have never had a theory that secession could absolve States or people from their obligations. Precisely the contrary is asserted in the inaugural

address; and it was because of my belief in the continuation of these *obligations* that I was puzzled, for a time, as to denying the legal *rights* of those citizens who remained individually innocent of treason or rebellion. But I mean no more now than to merely call attention to this point. Yours respectfully, A. Lincoln.

J. J. Reynolds.

Executive Mansion, January 20, 1864.

Major-General Reynolds. . . .

The true rule for the military is to seize such property as is needed for military uses and reasons, and let the rest alone. Cotton and other staple articles of commerce are seizable for military reasons. Dwelling-houses and furniture are seldom so. If Mrs. Morton is playing traitor to the extent of practical injury, seize her, but leave her house to the courts. Please revise and adjust this case upon these principles.

Yours, etc., A. Lincoln.

Alpheus Lewis.

Executive Mansion, January 23, 1864.

Alpheus Lewis, Esq.

My dear Sir: You have inquired how the government would regard and treat cases wherein the owners of plantations, in Arkansas, for instance, might fully recognize the freedom of those formerly slaves, and by fair contracts of hire with them, recommence the cultivation of their plantations. I answer, I should regard such cases with great favor, and should as a principle treat them precisely as I would treat

the same number of free white people in the same relation and condition. Whether white or black, reasonable effort should be made to give government protection. In neither case should the giving of aid and comfort to the rebellion, or other practices injurious to the Government, be allowed on such plantations; and in either, the Government would claim the right to take, if necessary, those of proper ages and conditions into the military service. Such plan must not be used to break up existing leases or arrangements of abandoned plantations which the Government may have made to give employment and sustenance to the idle and destitute people. With the foregoing qualifications, and explanations, and in view of its tendency to advance freedom, and restore peace and prosperity, such hiring and employment of the freed people, would be regarded by me with rather especial favor.

To be more specific, I add that all the military, and others acting by authority of the United States, are to favor and facilitate the introduction and carrying forward, in good faith, the free-labor system as above indicated, by allowing the necessary supplies therefor to be procured and taken to the proper points, and by doing and forbearing whatever will advance it, providing that existing military and trade regulations be not transcended thereby. I shall be glad to learn that planters adopting this system shall have employed one so zealous and active as yourself to act as an agent in relation thereto.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

FREDERICK STEELE.

Washington, January 27, 1864.

Major-General Steele.

I have addressed a letter to you, and put it in the hands of Mr. Gantt and other Arkansas gentlemen, containing a program for an election in that State. . . . Be sure to retain the free-State constitutional provision in some unquestionable form, and you and he can fix the rest. The points I have made in the program have been well considered. Take hold with an honest heart and a strong hand. Do not let any questionable man control or influence you.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, January 30, 1864.

Major-General Steele.

Since writing mine of the 27th, seeing still further accounts of the action of the convention in Arkansas, induces me to write you yet again. They seem to be doing so well, that possibly the best you can do would be to help them on their own plan; but of this you must confer with them and be the judge. Of all things, avoid, if possible, a dividing into cliques among the friends of the common object. Be firm and resolute against such as you can perceive would make confusion and division.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, June 29, 1864.

Major-General Steele.

I understand that Congress declines to admit to seats the persons sent as senators and representatives from Arkansas. These persons appre-

hend that, in consequence, you may not support the new State government there as you otherwise would. My wish is that you give that government and the people there the same support and protection that you would if the members had been admitted, because in no event, nor in any view of the case, can this do any harm, while it will be the best you can do toward suppressing the rebellion. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

James Wadsworth.

[*Extract from Letter to General Wadsworth Given by F. B. Carpenter.*]

(Late January or early February, 1864.)

You desire to know, in the event of our complete success in the field, the same being followed by a loyal and cheerful submission on the part of the South, if universal amnesty should not be accompanied with universal suffrage.

Now, since you know my private inclinations as to what terms should be granted to the South in the contingency mentioned, I will here add, that if our success should thus be realized, followed by such desired results, I cannot see, if universal amnesty is granted, how, under the circumstances, I can avoid exacting in return universal suffrage or at least suffrage on the basis of intelligence and military service.

How to better the condition of the colored race has long been a study which has attracted my serious and careful attention; hence I think I am clear and decided as to what course I shall pursue in the premises, regarding it as a religious duty, as the nation's guardian of these people who have so heroically vindicated their

manhood on the battle-field, where, in assisting to save the life of the Republic, they have demonstrated in blood their right to the ballot, which is but the humane protection of the flag they have so fearlessly defended.

In an article in *Scribner's Magazine* for January, 1893, by the Marquis de Chambrun, the above letter contains this paragraph:

The restoration of the Rebel States to the Union must rest upon the principle of civil and political equality of both races; and it must be sealed by general amnesty.

HORACE MAYNARD.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, February 13, 1864.

Hon. Horace Maynard, Nashville, Tennessee.

Your letter of [*the*] second received. Of course Governor Johnson will proceed with reorganization as the exigencies of the case appear to him to require. I do not apprehend he will think it necessary to deviate from my views to any ruinous extent. On one hasty reading I see no such deviation in his program, which you send. A. Lincoln.

J. M. THAYER.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, February 15, 1864.

General Thayer, Fort Smith, Arkansas.

Yours received. Whatever of conflict there is between the convention and me is accidental, not designed, I having acted in ignorance that the

convention would act. I yield to the convention, and have so notified General Steele, who is master, and is to cut any knots which cannot be untied. Correspond with him. A. Lincoln.

Daniel E. Sickles.

Executive Mansion, February 15, 1864.

Major-General Sickles.

I wish you to make a tour for me (principally for observation and information) by way of Cairo and New Orleans, and returning by the gulf and ocean. . . .

Please ascertain at each place what is being done, if anything, for reconstruction; how the amnesty proclamation works—if at all; what practical hitches, if any, there are about it; whether deserters come in from the enemy, what number has come in at each point since the amnesty, and whether the ratio of their arrival is any greater since than before the amnesty; what deserters report generally, and particularly whether, and to what extent, the amnesty is known within the rebel lines. Also learn what you can as to the colored people; how they get along as soldiers, as laborers in our service, on leased plantations, and as hired laborers with their old masters, if there be such cases. Also learn what you can as to the colored people within the rebel lines. Also get any other information you may consider interesting, and from time to time, send me what you may deem important to be known here at once, and be ready to make a general report on your return.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

W. M. Fishback.

War Department, February 17, 1864.
William M. Fishback, Little Rock, Arkansas.

When I fixed a plan for an election in Arkansas I did it in ignorance that your convention was doing the same work. Since I learned the latter fact I have been constantly trying to yield my plan to them. I have sent two letters to General Steele, and three or four despatches to you and others, saying that he, General Steele, must be master, but that it will probably be best for him to merely help the convention on its own plan. Some single mind must be master, else there will be no agreement in anything, and General Steele, commanding the military and being on the ground, is the best man to be that master. Even now citizens are telegraphing me to postpone the election to a later date than either that fixed by the convention or by me. This discord must be silenced. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., March 12, 1864.
William Fishback, Fort Smith, Arkansas.

I know not that any change of departmental lines is likely to be made in Arkansas; but if done, it will be for purely military reasons, to which the good people there can have no just cause of objection. Get out the largest vote you can, and the largest part of it on the right side that is possible. A. Lincoln.

William Jayne.

Executive Mansion, February 26, 1864.

Hon. W. Jayne.

Dear Sir: I dislike to make changes in office so long as they can be avoided. It multiplies my embarrassments immensely. I dislike two appointments when one will do. Send me the name of some man not the present marshal, and I will nominate him to be Provost Marshal for Dakota. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

E. H. East.

Washington, February 27, 1864.

Hon. E. H. East, Secretary of State, Nashville, Tennessee. . . .

No person who has taken the oath of amnesty of eighth December, 1863, and obtained a pardon thereby, and who intends to observe the same in good faith, should have any objection to taking that prescribed by Governor Johnson as a test of loyalty. I have seen and examined Governor Johnson's proclamation, and am entirely satisfied with his plan, which is to restore the State government and place it under the control of citizens truly loyal to the Government of the United States. A. Lincoln.

Please send above to Governor Johnson.

A. L.

J. A. J. Creswell.

Executive Mansion, March 7, 1864.

Hon. John A. J. Creswell.

My dear Sir: I am very anxious for emancipation to be effected in Maryland in some substantial form. I think it probable that my

expressions of a preference for gradual over immediate emancipation, are misunderstood. I had thought the gradual would produce less confusion and destitution, and therefore would be more satisfactory; but if those who are better acquainted with the subject, and are more deeply interested in it, prefer the immediate, most certainly I have no objection to their judgment prevailing. My wish is that all who are for emancipation in any form, shall coöperate, all treating all respectfully, and all adopting and acting upon the major opinion when fairly ascertained. What I have dreaded is the danger that by jealousies, rivalries, and consequent ill-blood—driving one another out of meetings and conventions—perchance from the polls—the friends of emancipation themselves may divide, and lose the measure altogether. I wish this letter to not be made public; but no man representing me as I herein represent myself will be in any danger of contradiction by me.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 17, 1864.

Hon. John A. J. Creswell.

My dear Sir: It needs not to be a secret that I wish success to emancipation in Maryland. It would aid much to end the rebellion. Hence it is a matter of national consequence, in which every national man may rightfully feel a deep interest. I sincerely hope the friends of the measure will allow no minor considerations to divide and distract them.[1]

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[1] Slavery was abolished by the Constitutional Convention on June 24, 1864.

Meredith P. Gentry.

Executive Mansion, March 13, 1864.

Hon. M. P. Gentry.

My dear Sir: Yours by the hand of General Grant is received. Of course I have not forgotten you. General Grant is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to send you South; and it is rather my wish that he may find it not inconsistent with his view of the public interest to oblige you. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Michael Hahn.

See letters to Nathaniel P. Banks of August 5, 1863, and of November 5, 1863.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, March 13, 1864.

Hon. Michael Hahn.

My dear Sir: I congratulate you on having fixed your name in history as the first free-State governor of Louisiana. Now you are about to have a convention, which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in—as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom. But this is only a suggestion, not to the public, but to you alone.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

B. B. French.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, March 25, 1864.

Hon. B. B. French.

My dear Sir: I understand a bill is before Congress by your instigation, for taking your office from the control of the Department of the Interior, and considerably enlarging the powers and patronage of your office. The proposed change may be right for aught I know, and it certainly is right for Congress to do as it thinks proper in the case. What I wish to say is, that if the change is made, I do not think I can allow you to retain the office; because that would be encouraging officers to be constantly intriguing, to the detriment of the public interest, in order to profit themselves.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

A. G. Hodges.

Executive Mansion, April 4, 1864.

A. G. Hodges, Esq., Frankfort, Kentucky.

My dear Sir: You ask me to put in writing the substance of what I verbally said the other day in your presence, to Governor Bramlette and Senator Dixon. It was about as follows:

"I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing it wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel, and yet I have never understood that the presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took that I would to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of

the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power. I understand, too, that in ordinary civil administration this oath even forbade me to practically indulge my primary abstract judgment on the moral question of slavery. I had publicly declared this many times, and in many ways. And I aver that, to this day, I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery. I did understand, however, that my oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability imposed upon me the duty of preserving, by every indispensable means, that Government—that nation, of which that Constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life and limb must be protected, yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground, and now avow it. I could not feel that, to the best of my ability, I had even tried to preserve the Constitution, if, to save slavery or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of Government, country, and Constitution all together. When, early in the war, General Frémont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When, a little later, General Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected

because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, General Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come. When in March and May and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border States to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition, and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it the Constitution, or of laying strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter. In choosing it, I hoped for greater gain than loss; but of this, I was not entirely confident. More than a year of trial now shows no loss by it in our foreign relations, none in our home popular sentiment, none in our white military force—no loss by it anyhow or anywhere. On the contrary it shows a gain of quite a hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, seamen, and laborers. These are palpable facts, about which, as facts, there can be no caviling. We have the men; and we could not have had them without the measure.

"And now let any Union man who complains of the measure test himself by writing down in one line that he is for subduing the rebellion by force of arms; and in the next, that he is for taking these hundred and thirty thousand men from the Union side, and placing them where they would be but for the measure he condemns. If he cannot face his case so stated, it is only because he cannot face the truth."

I add a word which was not in the verbal conversation. In telling this tale I attempt no compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man, devised or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Mrs. Horace Mann.

Executive Mansion, April 5, 1864.

Mrs. Horace Mann.

Madam: The petition of persons under eighteen, praying that I would free all slave children, and the heading of which petition it appears you wrote, was handed me a few days since by Senator Sumner. Please tell these little people I am very glad their young hearts are so full of just and generous sympathy, and that, while I have not the power to grant all they ask, I trust they will remember that God has, and that, as it seems, He wills to do it.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

William Dennison.

On April 7, 1864, in answer to a request to give a cotton-trader a letter of recommendation to military and naval authorities, etc., the President telegraphed

Governor Dennison, of Ohio, through John G. Nicolay, his private secretary, that "the President thinks he cannot safely write that class of letters."

Executive Mansion, June 27, 1864.

Hon. William Dennison and Others, a Committee of the National Union Convention.

Gentlemen: Your letter of the 14th instant formally notifying me that I have been nominated by the convention you represent for the Presidency of the United States for four years from the fourth of March next has been received. The nomination is gratefully accepted, as the resolutions of the convention, called the platform, are heartily approved. While the resolution in regard to the supplanting of republican government upon the western continent is fully concurred in, there might be misunderstanding were I not to say that the position of the Government in relation to the action of France in Mexico, as assumed through the State Department and approved and indorsed by the convention among the measures and acts of the executive, will be faithfully maintained so long as the state of facts shall leave that position pertinent and applicable. I am especially gratified that the soldier and the seaman were not forgotten by the convention, as they forever must and will be remembered by the grateful country for whose salvation they devote their lives.

Thanking you for the kind and complimentary terms in which you have communicated the nomination and other proceedings of the convention, I subscribe myself,

Your obedient servant, Abraham Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., September 24, 1864.
Governor William Dennison, Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. Blair has resigned and I appoint you Postmaster-General. Come on immediately.

A. Lincoln.

ISAAC MURPHY.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., April 27, 1864.
Governor Murphy, Little Rock, Arkansas.

I am much gratified to learn that you got out so large a vote, so nearly all the right way, at the late election; and not less so that your State government, including the legislature, is organized and in good working order. Whatever I can I will do to protect you; meanwhile you must do your utmost to protect yourselves. Present my greetings to all. A. Lincoln.

WILLIAM T. SHERMAN.[1]

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., May 4, 1864.
Major-General Sherman, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

I have an imploring appeal in behalf of the citizens, who say your Order No. 8 will compel them to go north of Nashville. This is in no

[1] General Sherman was one of the few generals who at the outbreak of the war realized its magnitude. He was called "Crazy Billy" because of his forebodings. He was a favorite of Grant, who made him his successor in the West when he became Lieutenant-General, and was greatly trusted by Lincoln.

sense an order, nor is it even a request that you will do anything which in the least shall be a drawback upon your military operations, but anything you can do consistently with those operations for those suffering people I shall be glad of. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, July 18, 1864.

Major-General Sherman, Chattahoochee River, Georgia.

I have seen your despatches, objecting to agents of Northern States opening recruiting stations [1] near your camps.

An act of Congress authorizes this, giving the appointment of agents to the States, and not to the executive government. It is not for the War Department or myself to restrain or modify the law in its execution further than actual necessity may require.

To be candid, I was for the passage of the law, not apprehending at the time that it would produce such inconvenience to the armies in the field, as you now cause me to fear. Many of the States were very anxious for it, and I hoped that, with their State bounties, and active exertions, they would get out substantial additions to our colored forces, which, unlike white recruits, help us where they come from, as well as where they go to. I still hope advantage from the law; and, being a law, it must be treated as such by all of us.

We here will do what we consistently can to save you from difficulties arising out of it.

May I ask therefore that you will give your hearty coöperation? A. Lincoln.

[1] For negroes.

Washington, D. C., July 26, 1864.

Major-General Sherman, near Atlanta.

I have just seen yours complaining of the appointment of Hovey and Osterhaus. The point you make is unquestionably a good one, and yet, please hear a word from us. My recollection is that both General Grant and yourself recommended both Hovey and Osterhaus for promotion, and these, with other strong recommendations, drew committals from us which we could neither honorably nor safely disregard. We blamed Hovey for coming away in the manner in which he did, but we knew he had apparent reason to feel disappointed and mortified, and we felt that it was not best to crush one who certainly had been a good soldier. As to Osterhaus, we did not know of his leaving, at the time we made the appointment, and do not now know the terms on which he left. Not to have appointed him, as the case appeared to us at the time, would have been almost, if not quite, a violation of our word. The word was given on what we thought was high merit, and somewhat on his nationality. I beg you to believe we do not act in a spirit of disregarding merit; we expect to await your program for further changes and promotions in your army. My profoundest thanks to you and your whole army for the present campaign so far.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., September 17, 1864. 10 a. m.

Major-General Sherman, Atlanta, Georgia.

I feel great interest in the subjects of your de-

spatch mentioning corn and sorghum, and the contemplated visit to you. A. Lincoln,
President of the United States.

Executive Mansion, September 19, 1864.
Major-General Sherman.

The State election of Indiana occurs on the 11th of October, and the loss of it, to the friends of the Government, would go far toward losing the whole Union cause. The bad effect upon the November election, and especially the giving the State government to those who will oppose the war in every possible way, are too much to risk, if it can possibly be avoided. The draft proceeds, notwithstanding its strong tendency to lose us the State. Indiana is the only important State, voting in October, whose soldiers cannot vote in the field. Anything you can safely do to let her soldiers, or any part of them, go home and vote at the State election will be greatly in point. They need not remain for the presidential election, but may return to you at once. This is in no sense an order, but is merely intended to impress you with the importance, to the army itself, of your doing all you safely can, yourself being the judge of what you can safely do. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., September 27, 1864.
Major-General Sherman, Atlanta, Georgia.

You say Jefferson Davis is on a visit to Hood. I judge that Brown and Stephens are the objects of his visit. A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, December 26, 1864.

My dear General Sherman: Many, many thanks for your Christmas gift, the capture of Savannah.

When you were about leaving Atlanta for the Atlantic coast, I was anxious, if not fearful; but feeling that you were the better judge, and remembering that "nothing risked, nothing gained," I did not interfere. Now, the undertaking being a success, the honor is all yours; for I believe none of us went further than to acquiesce.

And taking the work of General Thomas into the count, as it should be taken, it is indeed a great success. Not only does it afford the obvious and immediate military advantages; but in showing to the world that your army could be divided, putting the stronger part to an important new service, and yet leaving enough to vanquish the old opposing force of the whole—Hood's army—it brings those who sat in darkness to see a great light. But what next?

I suppose it will be safe if I leave General Grant and yourself to decide.

Please make my grateful acknowledgments to your whole army—officers and men.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Mrs. Sarah B. Meconkey.

Executive Mansion, May 9, 1864.

Mrs. Sarah B. Meconkey, West Chester, Pa.

Madam: Our mutual friend, Judge Lewis, tells me you do me the honor to inquire for my personal welfare. I have been very anxious for some days in regard to our armies in the field,

but am considerably cheered, just now, by favorable news from them. I am sure that you will join me in the hope for their further success; while yourself, and other good mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters, do all you and they can to relieve and comfort the gallant soldiers who compose them. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Samuel C. Pomeroy.[1]

Executive Mansion, May 12, 1864.

Hon. Senator Pomeroy.

Sir: I did not doubt yesterday that you desired to see me about the appointment of assessor in Kansas. I wish you and Lane would make a sincere effort to get out of the mood you are in. It does neither of you any good. It gives you the means of tormenting my life out of me, and nothing else.

Yours, etc., A. Lincoln.

Alfred Mackay.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, May 20, 1864.

Alfred Mackay,

Secretary of Fair, St. Louis, Missouri.

Your despatch received. Thanks for your greeting, and congratulations for the successful opening of your fair. Our soldiers are doing well, and must and will be done well by.

A. Lincoln.

[1] Mr. Pomeroy and James H. Lane were senators from Kansas. Pomeroy was an opponent of Lincoln's renomination.

I. N. Arnold.[1]

Executive Mansion, May 25, 1864.

Hon. I. N. Arnold.

My dear Sir: In regard to the order of General Burnside suspending the Chicago *Times*, now nearly a year ago, I can only say I was embarrassed with the question between what was due to the military service on the one hand, and the liberty of the press on the other, and I believe it was the despatch of Senator Trumbull and yourself, added to the proceedings of the meeting which it brought me, that turned the scale in favor of my revoking the order.

I am far from certain to-day that the revocation was not right; and I am very sure the small part you took in it is no just ground to disparage your judgment, much less to impugn your motives. I take it that your devotion to the Union and the Administration cannot be questioned by any sincere man.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

For Lincoln's opinion of Arnold, see his letter to Robert Boal of December 25, 1856.

Baptist Home Mission Society.

Executive Mansion, May 30, 1864.

Rev. Dr. Ide, Hon. J. R. Doolittle, and Hon. A. Hubbell, Committee.

In response to the preamble and resolutions of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, which you did me the honor to present, I can

[1] Arnold was a lawyer on the circuit with Lincoln, and a member of Congress during the war. He wrote an excellent biography of Lincoln.

only thank you for thus adding to the effective and almost unanimous support which the Christian communities are so zealously giving to the country and to liberty. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how it could be otherwise with any one professing Christianity, or even having ordinary perceptions of right and wrong. To read in the Bible, as the word of God himself, that "In the sweat of *thy* face shalt thou eat bread," and to preach therefrom that, "In the sweat of *other men's* faces shalt thou eat bread," to my mind can scarcely be reconciled with honest sincerity. When brought to my final reckoning, may I have to answer for robbing no man of his goods; yet more tolerable even this, than for robbing one of himself and all that was his. When, a year or two ago, those professedly holy men of the South met in the semblance of prayer and devotion, and, in the name of him who said, "As ye would all men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," appealed to the Christian world to aid them in doing to a whole race of men as they would have no man do unto themselves, to my thinking they contemned and insulted God and his church far more than did Satan when he tempted the Saviour with the kingdoms of the earth. The devil's attempt was no more false, and far less hypocritical. But let me forbear, remembering it is also written, "Judge not lest ye be judged." A. Lincoln.

J. H. Bryant.

Executive Mansion, May 30, 1864.

Hon. John H. Bryant.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 14th instant inclosing a card of invitation to a preliminary meeting contemplating the erection of a monument to the memory of Hon. Owen Lovejoy was duly received. As you anticipate, it will be out of my power to attend. Many of you have known Mr. Lovejoy longer than I have, and are better able than I to do his memory complete justice. My personal acquaintance with him commenced only about ten years ago, since when it has been quite intimate, and every step in it has been one of increasing respect and esteem, ending, with his life, in no less than affection on my part. It can truly be said of him that while he was personally ambitious he bravely endured the obscurity which the unpopularity of his principles imposed, and never accepted official honors until those honors were ready to admit his principles with him. Throughout very heavy and perplexing responsibilities here to the day of his death, it would scarcely wrong any other to say he was my most generous friend.

Let him have the marble monument along with the well-assured and more enduring one in the hearts of those who love liberty unselfishly for all men. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

New York Mass-Meeting.

Executive Mansion, June 3, 1864.

Hon. F. A. Conkling and Others.

Gentlemen: Your letter inviting me to be

present at a mass-meeting[1] of loyal citizens to be held at New York on the fourth instant, for the purpose of expressing gratitude to Lieutenant-General Grant for his signal services, was received yesterday. It is impossible for me to attend.

I approve, nevertheless, whatever may tend to strengthen and sustain General Grant and the noble armies now under his direction. My previous high estimate of General Grant has been maintained and heightened by what has occurred in the remarkable campaign he is now conducting, while the magnitude and difficulty of the task before him do not prove less than I expected. He and his brave soldiers are now in the midst of their great trial, and I trust that at your meeting you will so shape your good words that they may turn to men and guns, moving to his and their support.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

John Hay.

On June 5, 1864, J. G. Nicolay, the President's private secretary, wrote from Baltimore, where he was attending the National Union [Republican] convention, to Major John Hay, assistant private secretary to the President, a letter relating to a conversation he had had with B. C. Cook, the head of the Illinois delegates. Cook was "suspicious that Swett[2] may be untrue to Lincoln." One of the straws which led him to this belief was that Swett had telegraphed urging the Illinois delegation to go for Joseph Holt for Vice-Presi-

[1] This meeting was intended by certain Radicals opposed to Lincoln's renomination to launch a boom for General Grant's nomination for the presidency. By this letter Lincoln diverted it into a meeting for the support of the Union.

[2] Leonard Swett, really the only one in the President's confidence.

dent. "I told Cook," says Nicolay, "that I thought Lincoln would not wish even to indicate a preference for Vice-President, as the rival candidates were all friendly to him. . . . Cook wants to know confidentially whether Swett is all right; whether in urging Holt for Vice-President he reflects the President's wishes; whether the President has any preference, either personally or on the score of policy, or whether he wishes not even to interfere by a confidential indication."

Upon this letter the President wrote the following indorsement:

Swett is unquestionably all right. Mr. Holt is a good man, but I had not heard or thought of him for Vice-President. Wish not to interfere about Vice-President. Cannot interfere about platform. Convention must judge for itself.

WILLIAM D. KELLEY.

[*Memorandum of an Interview with the Postmaster of Philadelphia.*]

What I said to Postmaster of Philadelphia on this day—June 20, 1864:

Complaint is made to me that you are using your official power to defeat Judge Kelley's renomination to Congress.

I am well satisfied with Judge Kelley as a member of Congress, and I do not know that the man who might supplant him would be as satisfactory; but the correct principle, I think, is that all our friends should have absolute freedom of choice among our friends. My wish, therefore, is that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage in the case, and not constrain any of your subordinates to do other than as he thinks fit with his.

This is precisely the rule I inculcated and adhered to on my part when a certain other nomination now recently made was being canvassed for.

See letter of August 5, 1864, to Morton McMichael.

Clement C. Clay and Others.

On July 13, 1864, Mr. Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, wrote Lincoln: "I have now information, on which I can rely, that two persons, duly commissioned and empowered to negotiate for peace, are . . . not far from Niagara Falls in Canada, and are desirous of conferring with yourself." The following pass was given in reply:

[*Safe-Conduct.*]

Executive Mansion, July 16, 1864.

The President of the United States directs that the four persons whose names follow, to wit: Hon. Clement C. Clay, Hon. Jacob Thompson, Prof. James B. Holcombe, George N. Sanders, shall have safe conduct to the city of Washington in company with the Hon. Horace Greeley, and shall be exempt from arrest or annoyance of any kind from any officer of the United States during their journey to the said city of Washington.

By order of the President.

John Hay, Major and A. A. G.

Abram Wakeman.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, July 25, 1864.

Abram Wakeman, Esq.

My dear Sir: I feel that the subject which you pressed upon my attention in our recent

conversation is an important one. The men of the South recently (and perhaps still) at Niagara Falls tell us distinctly that they *are* in the confidential employment of the rebellion; and they tell us as distinctly that they are *not* empowered to offer terms of peace. Does any one doubt that what they *are* empowered to do is to assist in selecting and arranging a candidate and a platform for the Chicago convention? Who could have given them this confidential employment but he [1] who, only a week since, declared to Jaquess and Gilmore, that he had no terms of peace but the independence of the South—the dissolution of the Union? Thus, the present presidential contest will almost certainly be no other than a contest between a union [2] and a disunion [3] candidate, disunion certainly following the success of the latter. The issue is a mighty one, for all people, and all times; and whoever aids the right will be appreciated and remembered.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

J. C. Welling.

Executive Mansion, July 25, 1864.

J. C. Welling, Esq.

Sir: According to the request contained in your note, I have placed Mr. Gibson's letter of resignation in the hands of the President. He has read the letter, and says he accepts the resignation, as he will be glad to do with any other, which may be tendered, as this is, for the purpose of taking an attitude of hostility against him.

[1] Jefferson Davis. [2] Abraham Lincoln.
[3] George B. McClellan.

He says he was not aware that he was so much indebted to Mr. Gibson for having accepted the office at first, not remembering that he ever pressed him to do so, or that he gave it otherwise than as was usual, upon request made on behalf of Mr. Gibson.

He thanks Mr. Gibson for his acknowledgment that he has been treated with personal kindness and consideration, and he says he knows of but two small drawbacks upon Mr. Gibson's right to still receive such treatment, one of which is that he never could learn of his giving much attention to the duties of his office, and the other is this studied attempt of Mr. Gibson's to stab him. I am, very truly,

Your obedient servant, John Hay.

Morton McMichael.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, August 5, 1864.

Hon. Morton McMichael. . . .

I am now told that, of the two or three hundred employees in the Post-office, not one of them is openly for Judge Kelley. This, if true, is not accidental. Left to their free choice, there can be no doubt that a large number of them, probably as much or more than half, would be for Kelley. And if they are for him, and are not restrained, they can put it beyond question by publicly saying so. Please tell the postmaster he must find a way to relieve me from the suspicion that he is not keeping his promise to me in good faith. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

S. G. Burbridge.

Washington, D. C., August 8, 1864.

Major-General Burbridge, Lexington, Kentucky.

Last December Mrs. Emily T. Helm, half-sister of Mrs. Lincoln, and widow of the rebel general, Ben Hardin Helm, stopped here on her way from Georgia to Kentucky, and I gave her a paper as I remember, to protect her against the mere fact of her being General Helm's widow. I hear a rumor to-day that you recently sought to arrest her, but were prevented by her presenting the paper from me. I do not intend to protect her from the consequences of disloyal words or acts, spoken or done by her since her return to Kentucky, and if the paper given her by me can be construed to give her protection for such words or acts, it is hereby revoked *pro tanto*. Deal with her for current conduct just as you would with any other.

A. Lincoln.

[*Indorsement of Application for Employment.*]

August 15, 1864.

I am always for the man who wishes to work; and I shall be glad for this man to get suitable employment at Cavalry Depot, or elsewhere.

A. Lincoln.

W. Hunt.

Executive Mansion, August 16, 1864.

Hon. Ward Hunt. . . .

My dear Sir: I am for the regular nominee in all cases, and no one could be more satisfactory to me as the nominee in that district than

Mr. [*Roscoe*] Conkling. I do not mean to say there [*are*] not others as good as he in the district; but I think I know him to be at least good enough. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

D. S. D. Baldwin.

On August 19, 1864, through his secretary, John G. Nicolay, the President returned an application for military promotion from one D. S. D. Baldwin, saying that he "never interfered with the details of army organization," and recommending Baldwin to apply to General M. R. Patrick.

Abraham Lincoln.

[*Memorandum.*]

Executive Mansion, August 23, 1864.

This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this Administration will not be reëlected. Then it will be my duty to so coöperate with the President elect as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration; as he will have secured his election on such ground that he cannot possibly save it afterward. A. Lincoln.

I. M. Schermerhorn.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, September 12, 1864.

Isaac M. Schermerhorn, Buffalo, New York.

My dear Sir: Your letter, mentioned in your two telegrams, has not yet reached me, so that I am without knowledge of its particulars. I beg you to pardon me for having concluded that it is not best for me now to write a general letter to a political meeting.

First, I believe it is not customary for one holding the office, and being a candidate for re-election, to do so; and, secondly, a public letter must be written with some care, and at some expense of time, so that having begun with your meeting, I could not well refuse others, and yet could not get through with all having equal claims.

Please tender to those you represent, my sincere thanks for the invitation, and my appeal to their indulgence for having declined their request. Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

See letter of December 10, 1862, to S. R. Curtis.

Philip H. Sheridan.[1]

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, September 20, 1864.

Major-General Sheridan, Winchester, Virginia.

Have just heard of your great victory. God bless you all, officers and men. Strongly inclined to come up and see you. A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, October 22, 1864.

Major-General Sheridan.

With great pleasure I tender to you and your brave army the thanks of the nation, and my own personal admiration and gratitude, for the month's operations in the Shenandoah Valley; and especially for the splendid work of October 19, 1864. Your obedient servant,

Abraham Lincoln.

[1] General Sheridan, the greatest cavalry general of the war, won the battle of Winchester on September 19, 1864. On October 19 he turned defeat into victory at Cedar Creek by his famous ride.

H. W. Hoffman.

Executive Mansion, October 10, 1864.

Hon. Henry W. Hoffman.

My dear Sir: A convention of Maryland has framed a new constitution for the State; a public meeting is called for this evening at Baltimore to aid in securing its ratification by the people, and you ask a word from me for the occasion. I presume the only feature of the instrument about which there is serious controversy is that which provides for the extinction of slavery. It needs not to be a secret, and I presume it is no secret, that I wish success to this provision. I desire it on every consideration. I wish all men to be free. I wish the material prosperity of the already free, which I feel sure the extinction of slavery would bring. I wish to see in process of disappearing that only thing which ever could bring this nation to civil war. I attempt no argument. Argument upon the question is already exhausted by the abler, better informed, and more immediately interested sons of Maryland herself. I only add that I shall be gratified exceedingly if the good people of the State shall, by their votes, ratify the new constitution.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Wm. B. Campbell and Others.

Executive Mansion, October 22, 1864.

Messrs. Wm. B. Campbell [and others].

Gentlemen: . . .

The movement set on foot by the [*Union*] convention and Governor Johnson does not, as seems to be assumed by you, emanate from the

national Executive. In no proper sense can it be considered other than as an independent movement of at least a portion of the loyal people of Tennessee.

I do not perceive in the plan any menace of violence or coercion toward any one. Governor Johnson, like any other loyal citizen of Tennessee, has the right to favor any political plan he chooses, and, as military governor, it is his duty to keep the peace among and for the loyal people of the State. I cannot discern that by this plan he purposes any more.

But you object to the plan. Leaving it alone will be your perfect security against it. Do as you please on your own account, peacefully and loyally, and Governor Johnson will not molest you, but will protect you against violence so far as in his power.

I presume that the conducting of a presidential election in Tennessee in strict accordance with the old code of the State is not now a possibility.

It is scarcely necessary to add that if any election shall be held, and any votes shall be cast in the State of Tennessee for President and Vice-President of the United States, it will belong, not to the military agents, nor yet to the Executive Department, but exclusively to another department of the Government, to determine whether they are entitled to be counted in conformity with the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Except it be to give protection against violence, I decline to interfere in any way with any presidential election. Abraham Lincoln.

Sailors' Fair at Boston.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., November 8, 1864.

To the Managing Committee of the Sailors' Fair, Boston, Massachusetts.

Allow me to wish you a great success. With the old fame of the navy made brighter in the present war you cannot fail. I name none lest I wrong others by omission. To all, from rear-admiral to honest Jack, I tender the nation's admiration and gratitude. A. Lincoln.

Mrs. Bixby.

Executive Mansion, November 21, 1864.

Mrs. Bixby, Boston, Massachusetts.

Dear Madam: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,

Abraham Lincoln.

John Phillips.[1]

Executive Mansion, November 21, 1864.
Deacon John Phillips.

My dear Sir: I have heard of the incident at the polls in your town, in which you acted so honorable a part, and I take the liberty of writing to you to express my personal gratitude for the compliment paid me by the suffrage of a citizen so venerable.

The example of such devotion to civic duties in one whose days have already been extended an average lifetime beyond the Psalmist's limit, cannot but be valuable and fruitful. It is not for myself only, but for the country which you have in your sphere served so long and so well, that I thank you. Your friend and servant,

Abraham Lincoln.

James Speed.[2]

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, December 1, 1864.
Hon. James Speed, Louisville, Kentucky.

I appoint you to be Attorney-General. Please come on at once. A. Lincoln.

[1] Deacon John Phillips, of Sturbridge, Mass., aged one hundred and four years, having voted at every presidential election from the adoption of the Constitution, tottered to the polls to vote for Lincoln.

[2] James Speed was the brother of the closest friend Lincoln ever had, Joshua F. Speed, through whom Lincoln met James, and acquired a high opinion of his legal ability.

William B. Cushing.

[*Message to Congress.*]

To the Senate and House of Representatives. In conformity to the law of [*the*] 16th of July, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Lieutenant William B. Cushing, United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks from Congress for his important, gallant, and perilous achievement in destroying the rebel iron-clad steamer *Albemarle,* on the night of the 27th of October, 1864, at Plymouth, North Carolina. The destruction of so formidable a vessel, which had resisted the continued attacks of a number of our vessels on former occasions, is an important event touching our future naval and military operations, and would reflect honor on any officer, and redounds to the credit of this young officer and the few brave comrades who assisted in this successful and daring undertaking.

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, December 5, 1864.

John A. Winslow.

[*Message to Congress.*]

To the Senate and House of Representatives. In conformity to the law of July 16, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Captain John A. Winslow, United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks from Congress for the skill and gallantry exhibited by him in the brilliant action whilst in command of the United States steamer *Kearsarge,* which led to the total destruction of the piratical craft *Alabama,* on the 19th of June,

1864, a vessel superior in tonnage, superior in number of guns, and superior in number of crew. . . . Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, December 5, 1864.

Edward R. S. Canby.

Executive Mansion, December 12, 1864.

Major-General Canby.

I think it is probable that you are laboring under some misapprehension as to the purpose, or rather the motive, of the Government on two points—cotton, and the new Louisiana State government.

It is conceded that the military operations are the first in importance; and as to what is indispensable to these operations, the department commander must be judge and master.

But the other matters mentioned I suppose to be of public importance also; and what I have attempted in regard to them is not merely a concession to private interest and pecuniary greed.

As to cotton. By the external blockade, the price is made certainly six times as great as it was. And yet the enemy gets through at least one-sixth part as much in a given period, say a year, as if there were no blockade, and receives as much for it as he would for a full crop in time of peace. The effect in substance is, that we give him six ordinary crops without the trouble of producing any but the first; and at the same time leave his fields and his laborers free to produce provisions. You know how this keeps up his armies at home and procures supplies from abroad. For other reasons we cannot give up the blockade, and hence it becomes immensely

important to us to get the cotton away from him. Better give him guns for it than let him, as now, get both guns and ammunition for it. But even this only presents part of the public interest to get out cotton. Our finances are greatly involved in the matter. The way cotton goes now carries so much gold out of the country as to leave us paper currency only, and that so far depreciated as that for every hard dollar's worth of supplies we obtain, we contract to pay two and a half hard dollars hereafter. This is much to be regretted; and, while I believe we can live through it, at all events it demands an earnest effort on the part of all to correct it. And if pecuniary greed can be made to aid us in such effort, let us be thankful that so much good can be got out of pecuniary greed.

As to the new State government of Louisiana. Most certainly there is no worthy object in getting up a piece of machinery merely to pay salaries and give political consideration to certain men. But it is a worthy object to again get Louisiana into proper practical relations with the nation, and we can never finish this if we never begin it. Much good work is already done, and surely nothing can be gained by throwing it away.

I do not wish either cotton or the new State government to take precedence of the military while the necessity for the military remains; but there is a strong public reason for treating each with so much favor as may not be substantially detrimental to the military.

Allow me a word of explanation in regard to the telegram which you kindly forwarded to Admiral Farragut for me.

That telegram was prompted by a piece of secret information inducing me to suspect that the use of a forged paper might be attempted on the admiral, in order to base a claim that we had raised our own blockade.

I am happy in the hope that you are almost well of your late and severe wound.[1]

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

GEORGE H. THOMAS.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C.,
December 16, 1864. 11.30 a. m.

Major-General Thomas, Nashville, Tennessee.

Please accept for yourself, officers, and men, the nation's thanks for your good work of yesterday.[2] You made a magnificent beginning; a grand consummation is within your easy reach. Do not let it slip. A. Lincoln.

JOSEPH H. CHOATE.

Executive Mansion, December 19, 1864.

Joseph H. Choate, Esq.

My dear Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your kind invitation to be present at the annual festival of the New England Society to commemorate the landing of the Pilgrims, on Thursday, the 22d of this month.

[1] While on a tour of inspection on White River, Ark., General Canby was severely wounded by guerrillas. Later, on April 12, 1865, with the assistance of Admiral Farragut, he captured Mobile. After the war he became noted as an Indian fighter. He was treacherously killed, April 11, 1873, by Modoc Indians.

[2] Defeat of General John B. Hood.

My duties will not allow me to avail myself of your kindness.

I cannot but congratulate you and the country, however, upon the spectacle of devoted unanimity presented by the people at home, the citizens that form our marching columns, and the citizens that fill our squadrons on the sea, all animated by the same determination to complete the work our fathers began and transmitted.

The work of the Plymouth emigrants was the glory of their age. While we reverence their memory, let us not forget how vastly greater is our opportunity. I am, very truly,

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

John Maclean.

On December 20, 1864, the College of New Jersey at Princeton conferred on President Lincoln the degree of Doctor of Laws. On December 27, 1864, he acknowledged the compliment to President Maclean:

The assurance conveyed by this high compliment, that the course of the Government which I represent has received the approval of a body of gentlemen of such character and intelligence, in this time of public trial is most grateful to me.

Thoughtful men must feel that the fate of civilization upon this continent is involved in the issue of our contest. Among the most gratifying proofs of this conviction is the hearty devotion everywhere exhibited by our schools and colleges to the national cause.

I am most thankful if my labors have seemed to conduce to the preservation of those institutions under which alone we can expect good

government—and in its train, sound learning and the progress of the liberal arts.

I am, sir, very truly, your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Lyman Trumbull.[1]

Executive Mansion, January 9, 1865.

Hon. Lyman Trumbull. . . .

If I shall neither take sides nor argue, will it be out of place for me to make what I think is the true statement of your question as to the proposed Louisiana senators?

"Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relations with the Union sooner by admitting or by rejecting the proposed senators?"

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

G. M. Dodge.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, January 15, 1865.

Major-General Dodge, St. Louis, Missouri.

It is represented to me that there is so much irregular violence in northern Missouri as to be driving away the people and almost depopulating it. Please gather information, and consider whether an appeal to the people there to go to their homes and let one another alone—recognizing as a full right of protection for each that he lets others alone, and banning only him who refuses to let others alone—may not enable you to withdraw the troops, their presence itself

[1] Mr. Trumbull, an Illinois Republican, had been elected to the Senate at a time when Lincoln expected to receive the Republican nomination.

[*being*] a cause of irritation and constant apprehension, and thus restore peace and quiet, and returning prosperity. Please consider this and telegraph or write me. A. Lincoln.

William Lloyd Garrison.

Washington, January 24, 1865.

My dear Mr. Garrison: I have your kind letter of the 21st of January, and can only beg that you will pardon the seeming neglect occasioned by my constant engagements. When I received the spirited and admirable painting, "Waiting for the Hour," I directed my secretary not to acknowledge its arrival at once, preferring to make my personal acknowledgments of the thoughtful kindness of the donors; and waiting for some leisure hour, I have committed the discourtesy of not replying at all. I hope you will believe that my thanks, though late, are most cordial, and request that you will convey them to those associated with you in this flattering and generous gift. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Thomas T. Eckert.

[*Instructions.*]

Executive Mansion, January 30, 1865.

Major T. T. Eckert.

Sir: You will proceed with the documents placed in your hands, and on reaching General Ord will deliver him the letter addressed to him by the Secretary of War. Then, by General Ord's assistance, procure an interview with

Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell,[1] or any of them, deliver to him or them the paper on which your own letter is written. Note on the copy which you retain the time of delivery and to whom delivered. Receive their answer in writing, waiting a reasonable time for it, and which, if it contain their decision to come through without further condition, will be your warrant to ask General Ord to pass them through as directed in the letter of the Secretary of War to him. If by their answer they decline to come, or propose other terms, do not have them pass through. And this being your whole duty, return and report to me.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Lieutenant-Colonel Glenn.

Executive Mansion, February 7, 1865.

Lieutenant-Colonel Glenn, Commanding Post at Henderson, Kentucky.

Complaint is made to me that you are forcing negroes into the military service, and even torturing them—riding them on rails and the like—to extort their consent. I hope this may be a mistake. The like must not be done by you, or any one under you. You must not force negroes any more than white men. Answer me on this.

A. Lincoln.

Alexander H. Stephens.

Executive Mansion, February 10, 1865.

Hon. A. H. Stephens.

According to our agreement, your nephew, Lieutenant Stephens, goes to you bearing this

[1] The Confederate Peace Commissioners.

note. Please, in return, to select and send to me that officer of the same rank imprisoned at Richmond, whose physical condition most urgently requires his release.

Respectfully, A. Lincoln.

Thomas C. Fletcher.

Executive Mansion, February 20, 1865.

His Excellency Governor Fletcher.

It seems that there is now no organized military force of the enemy in Missouri, and yet that destruction of property and life is rampant everywhere. Is not the cure for this within easy reach of the people themselves? It cannot but be that every man not naturally a robber or cut-throat would gladly put an end to this state of things. A large majority in every locality must feel alike upon this subject; and if so, they only need to reach an understanding, one with another. Each leaving all others alone solves the problem; and surely each would do this but for his apprehension that others will not leave him alone. Cannot this mischievous distrust be removed? Let neighborhood meetings be everywhere called and held, of all entertaining a sincere purpose for mutual security in the future, whatever they may heretofore have thought, said or done about the war, or about anything else. Let all such meet, and, waiving all else, pledge each to cease harassing others, and to make common cause against whoever persists in making, aiding, or encouraging further disturbance. The practical means they will best know how to adopt and apply. At such meetings old friend-

ships will cross the memory, and honor and Christian charity will come in to help.

Please consider whether it may not be well to suggest this to the now afflicted people of Missouri. Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

James Gordon Bennett.

Executive Mansion, February 20, 1865.

James G. Bennett, Esq.

Dear Sir: I propose, at some convenient and not distant day, to nominate you to the United States Senate as Minister to France.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Benjamin G. Smith and Franklin W. Smith.

[*Order Annulling Sentence.*]

I am unwilling for the sentence to stand, and be executed, to any extent in this case. In the absence of a more adequate motive than the evidence discloses, I am wholly unable to believe in the existence of criminal or fraudulent intent on the part of men of such well established good character. If the evidence went as far to establish a guilty profit of one or two hundred thousand dollars, as it does of one or two hundred dollars, the case would, on the question of guilt, bear a far different aspect. That on this contract, involving some twelve hundred thousand dollars, the contractors would plan, and attempt to execute a fraud, which, at the most, could profit them only one or two hundred, or even one thousand dollars, is to my mind beyond the

power of rational belief. That they did not, in such a case, make far greater gains, proves that they did not, with guilty or fraudulent intent, make [*any*] at all. The judgment and sentence are disapproved and declared null, and the defendants fully discharged. A. Lincoln.

March 18, 1865.

GODFREY WEITZEL.

[*Telegram.*]

Headquarters Armies of the United States,
City Point, April 6, 1865.

Major-General Weitzel, Richmond, Virginia.

It has been intimated to me that the gentlemen who have acted as the legislature of Virginia in support of the rebellion may now desire to assemble at Richmond and take measures to withdraw the Virginia troops and other support from resistance to the General Government. If they attempt it, give them permission and protection, until, if at all, they attempt some action hostile to the United States, in which case you will notify them, give them reasonable time to leave, and at the end of which time arrest any who remain. Allow Judge Campbell to see this, but do not make it public. A. Lincoln.

See letter to U. S. Grant of April 6, 1865.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., April 12, 1865.

Major-General Weitzel, Richmond, Virginia.

I have seen your despatch to Colonel Hardie about the matter of prayers. I do not remember hearing prayers spoken of while I was in Rich-

mond; but I have no doubt you have acted in what appeared to you to be the spirit and temper manifested by me while there.[1] Is there any sign of the rebel legislature coming together on the understanding of my letter to you? If there is any such sign, inform me what it is; if there is no such sign, you may withdraw the offer.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., April 12, 1865.

Major-General Weitzel, Richmond, Virginia.

I have just seen Judge Campbell's letter to you of the 7th. He assumes, as appears to me, that I have called the insurgent legislature of Virginia together, as the rightful legislature of the State, to settle all differences with the United States. I have done no such thing. I spoke of them, not as a legislature, but as "the gentlemen who have acted as the legislature of Virginia in support of the rebellion." I did this on purpose to exclude the assumption that I was recognizing them as a rightful body. I dealt with them as men having power *de facto* to do a specific thing, to wit: "To withdraw the Virginia troops and other support from resistance to the General Government," for which, in the paper handed Judge Campbell, I promised a specific equivalent, to wit: a remission to the people of the State, except in certain cases, of the confiscation of their property. I meant this, and no more. Inasmuch, however, as Judge Campbell misconstrues this, and is still pressing for an armistice,

[1] Secretary Stanton had rebuked General Weitzel for neglect to require the pastors of Richmond churches to pray for President Lincoln, as they had done for President Davis before the city's capture.

contrary to the explicit statement of the paper I gave him, and particularly as General Grant has since captured the Virginia troops, so that giving a consideration for their withdrawal is no longer applicable, let my letter to you and the paper to Judge Campbell both be withdrawn, or countermanded, and he be notified of it. Do not now allow them to assemble, but if any have come, allow them safe return to their homes.

A. Lincoln.

George Ashmun.

Washington, D. C., April 14, 1865.

Allow Mr. Ashmun and his friends to come in at 9 a. m. to-morrow. A. Lincoln.

These were the last words written by Abraham Lincoln. He wrote this direction on a card just before leaving the White House for Ford's Theatre, where he was assassinated.